



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-151
Wednesday
5 August 1992

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South Africa

Addressing a crowd estimated by police to number more than 70,000 at a rally outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria, ANC President Nelson Mandela praised the two-day national strike as "unquestionably one of the greatest events in our history." In his speech, which was carried by SAPA, Mandela also said the formation of "an interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward," adding that this government "has to be linked to a vision which ensures our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy." Mandela also said it was essential that "practical steps are taken by the government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people in the townships." He warned his listeners not to become "dizzy with success," but instead to push ahead so that their campaign for peace and democracy becomes a "tidal wave which will thrust our country into a future where justice prevails, peace is assured and democracy becomes a way of life."

As for the final day of the "crippling" general strike, SAPA cited ANC Secretary General Ramaphosa as saying that participation "had increased during the second day with impressive support from Indian and colored communities." Meanwhile, Johannesburg TV reported that Law and Order Minister Kriel said violence had increased by 300 percent during the mass action campaign, which, he added, had failed to achieve its objective "to take over power from the government."

Mozambique

Maputo radio reported that President Chissano and Mozambique National Resistance leader Dhlakama held an "informal meeting" in Rome. Zimbabwean President Mugabe and London-Rhodesia Company director Tiny Rowland also attended the meeting, which began at 0200 local time and lasted until 0630, according to the radio.

Benin

"The mutiny at Natitingou is over," Cotonou radio reported, adding that forces loyal to the government were in control of the town and its military camp. Pascal Tawes, leader of the mutiny, fled the area with "an estimated 20 men," the radio added.

Rwanda

Three people, including a police officer, were killed during a demonstration in Kigali by the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic, to demand the release of members arrested last week, Kigali radio stated. The group's chairman expressed "anger" over the shootings, but urged party members "to remain calm until appropriate measures were taken by the party."

In another development, Kigali radio reported that 10 Senegalese officers, the first elements of a neutral observers group that will monitor the cease-fire between government and opposition forces, arrived in Kigali.

Zaire

AFP, citing AZAP, reported that the national conference has decided to restore the country's former name, the Republic of the Congo, as well as "the country's former national emblem and anthem." President Mobutu, however, "let it be clearly understood that the entire question must be put to a referendum within the framework of the constitution that will govern the Third Republic," according to Kinshasa television. He denied discussing the issue during a recent meeting with some of the delegates, the television added.

Central African Republic

GDN Bureau Elected; Reaction to Conjugo Death

AB0508104592 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 2 Aug 92

[Excerpts] The deliberations of the Grand National Debate [GDN], which started in Bangui on 1 August, continued at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conference room today. As early as yesterday evening, the GDN's standing orders were adopted by the delegates. At the end of deliberations of this session, the 400 delegates elected the GDN bureau and adopted the GDN agenda.

The bureau consists of Chairman Jacques Mboto; First Vice Chairman Rene (Bewe); Second Vice Chairman Mr. Zaramo Atoungani; Third Vice Chairman Auguste Mboui; Fourth Vice Chairman Bere Hoguiri; General Rapporteur Daniel Limbessa; Deputy General Rapporteur Gaston Masko Yangba; and rapporteurs A. mael Leopold Samba and Mrs. Rachel Nambobona.

It should be noted that this morning the delegates did not remain insensitive to the tragic death of Dr. Conjugo. Representatives of political parties and other associations sent several messages, either directly to the head of state calling on him to bear moral responsibility for the accident, or to sympathize with the bereaved family. Let us listen to the protest lodged by Civic Forum Chairman Mr. Timothee Maledouma.

[Begin Maledouma recording] [passage omitted] The truth is always hard to bear, but permit me to say, Mr. President, that even if it is not formally established that you were the one who gave the orders for the mounting acts of barbarism committed by the public authorities, the question is: How will you be able to convince national and international opinion that you are actually the head of this country, and consequently the one who is actually responsible for all the acts of your government? [passage omitted]

Mr. President, the Civic Forum most vehemently protests and expresses its great indignation at the acts of barbarism that led to the very [word indistinct] death of Dr. Jean-Claude Conjugo, a peaceful democrat and a comrade in the political struggle. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Immediately afterward, Mr. Mandata Mirikata, spokesman for the public authorities, retorted that responsibility for this tragedy could not be laid at the doorstep of the head of state. He said it was all those who contrive by any means to inhibit the smooth running of the GDN deliberations who should be blamed. Let us listen to Mr. Mirikata.

[Begin Mirikata recording] Mr. President, honorable delegates: First, on behalf of the public authorities, I would like to make some important comments on the smooth running of the GDN deliberations. You know very well that these are serious sessions. It is therefore proper that you do everything in your power to ensure

their absolute success. Ladies and gentlemen, I am referring to Article 19 of the standing orders that we all adopted yesterday. With your permission, I will read Article 19, which deals with the role of the chairman of the provisional bureau. Article 19 states that at the opening session the chairman of the GDN bureau will assume the chairmanship until the election of the GDN bureau. The provisional chairman of the GDN presents the report of the committee's bureau, ensures the adoption of standing orders of the GDN, and sees to the election of the GDN bureau. The interim GDN chairman cannot order the start of any debate whose purpose is not in line with the provisions of the present session. Ladies and gentlemen, I believe this is clear and that it will be proper to strictly abide by these provisions during these sessions [words indistinct].

Now, in response to the statement made earlier by the chairman of the Civic Forum, I am going to read to you the contents of a statement on behalf of the public authorities: At this time when we have met to find realistic solutions to our country's problems, other compatriots—advocates of the sovereign national conference—are moving heaven and earth to make the GDN deliberations fail. Their methods include all kinds of actions ranging from general strikes to violent (?protests) and [word indistinct] marches.

While we deplore the death of Dr. Conjugo, we assert that the responsibility for this regrettable accident can in no way be attributed to the president. As long as legal investigations have been immediately ordered by the public authorities, we totally reject the serious and gratuitous accusations leveled against the head of state by the chairman of the Civic Forum on the issue. The public authorities have always worked for a gradual democratization of our country. We must deplore the tendency of political parties to seek constantly to push Central Africans into the streets to achieve their designs. Yesterday's rally, followed by a march, had the specific aim of disrupting and finally paralyzing the GDN deliberations that have brought together about 400 delegates from outside and from all regions of our country.

The delegation of the public authorities would like to point out that those who want to block the GDN deliberations by diverse means have in the past contributed to the martyrdom of the Central African people. The Central African people are the sole judges of the head of state's actions ever since his accession to the supreme magistracy in matters of respect for the lives of his fellow citizens.

Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Chad

University Teachers Boycott Examinations Over Pay

AB0508110092 Ndjamenia Radiodiffusion Nationale
Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] There has been yet another loud protest at the University of Chad. The end of year examinations slated

for today could not be held as planned. The reason is that lecturers observed the strike order launched by the National Union of Higher Education Teachers and Researchers [SYNESS]. (Pascal Ngargoune Saleh) was on the scene for a first-hand assessment of the situation. Here is his report.

[[Begin recording]] [(Saleh)] The teachers have decided to suspend the end of year examinations and all research activities. The aim of this suspension is to demand payment of three months' salary arrears and two months' allowances for organizing examinations. The current situation at the University of Chad marks the end of the patience shown by teachers since 17 June. During a general meeting on 20 June, SYNESS decided to grant a respite to the government by avoiding a strike action until their demands had been met. Yet nothing has been done by the government although it has declared national education a priority in Chad. On 5 July, a strike warning notice was submitted to the Ministry of Higher Education. The government was immediately given 26 days to find solutions to the particularly difficult conditions under which Chadian teachers work. The various meetings held with both the minister of higher education and the prime minister did not help in resolving the situation. The promises made by the head of government did not convince the teachers either.

We now hear the SYNESS secretary general, (Mokadjiri Bandiji).

[[Bandiji]] On 5 July, we issued a communique listing a number of demands, notably concerning our various premiums and allowances as well as salary arrears. We stated that if nothing had been done to satisfy our demands by 31 July we would suspend the organization of examinations. Nothing has been done so the examinations were not held. This is rather unfortunate for the students and especially for the higher education teachers and researchers, because we had issued our advance strike notice 5 July to give the government enough time to review the situation. Today is 3 August and the situation has not been redressed. The ball is in the government's court. If our demands are met today, we will immediately organize the examinations.

[(Saleh)] SYNESS includes about 50 teachers and researchers. As they have decided to boycott the end of year examinations, what effect could this have? We know that the university has some teachers affiliated with the Chadian Teachers Union. Logically, the union, bound by an agreement signed with the government, should organize the examinations. As of this morning, the university academic staff unit had not disclosed its stand, but should it refuse to follow its SYNESS colleagues it would have to face the students, who are demanding the organization of two examination sessions. This is a delicate situation in which the students have toughened their stand. They say they are even ready to sacrifice their right to vacation. And what about the teachers?

Now let us listen to an official in charge of information for the student union, (Jumaflan Ngoundar Ngargouayo).

[(Ngargouayo)] We have refused to sit for the examinations because the authorities want to impose a single session on us as they did during the last academic year. As one of the most fundamental policies is administrative legality, how can they, in the course of the year, amend an ordinance which regulates examinations at the University of Chad? They even want to [words indistinct] to an ordinance. This is impossible; it is binding on us—we and our teachers—and they are ready to sacrifice their holiday months provided they are paid one month's allowance. It is a question of money. They only have to pay one month's allowance to the teachers and the problem will be solved. We do not understand why it is materially impossible to organize two faculty examination sessions. Usually, the academic year begins in November and sometimes even in December. We know that an examination is not an easy thing. But they were wrong in planning a single examination session. [passage indistinct]

[(Saleh)] Obviously, all this constitutes a trial for the government. While teachers and students regret reaching this point—tantamount to an invalid year or a suspension—the ball is currently in the government's court. Teachers' salary arrears and their allowances must be paid for examinations to be organized. The students, for their part, [word indistinct] a single session. It is up to the government to make the right decision to resolve this higher education crisis in Chad.

Indeed, the Ministry of Higher Education published an ordinance this morning fixing a single session of examinations for this academic year except for the Faculty of Health Science. The organization of two sessions this year is impossible, according to the minister of higher education, for technical and tactical reasons. According to the latest news, the students association bureau informs us that it has decided to close all lecture halls at the University of Chad. [end recording]

Rwanda

Three Reportedly Killed in CDR Demonstration

EA0408161392 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Excerpts] There were demonstrations by the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic [CDR] in front of the Justice Ministry in Kigali. The preliminary death toll is three, including a policeman. [passage omitted]

There were demonstrations in Kacyiru—the administrative area—to demand the release of a dozen CDR members who were arrested last week following political troubles.

The first demonstrator was killed when a zealous policeman fired several rounds from his Kalashnikov. A member of the security forces was forced to fire at this policeman to put an end to the carnage. The demonstrators immediately dispersed to regroup and organize themselves some 100 meters away.

The justice minister, who rushed to the scene immediately in an attempt to restore calm, has not managed to do so. Moreover, the demonstrators have been rather uncompromising. They are clamoring for the release of their colleagues and the return of their flag, which had been spirited away by members of the Republican Democratic Movement.

The CDR party chairman, for his part, expressed anger. He said that his party would never tolerate innocent civilians being the target of irresponsible members of the security forces. He urged CDR members, however, to remain calm until appropriate measures were taken by the party.

First Military Observers Arrive From Senegal

EA0508094592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Excerpts] The first contingent of military officers, members of the group of neutral military observers due to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire between the Rwandan Armed Forces and Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] rebel fighters, arrived today in Kigali. It is a Senegalese military contingent, as reported by Jules Nizeyimana.

[Begin Nizeyimana recording] Yes indeed, 10 Senegalese officers have arrived in Kigali, led by Colonel Gei. They are the first contingent of the Military Observers Group that will supervise the implementation of the cease-fire between the Rwandan Armed Forces and the RPF rebel fighters. [passage omitted]

We are waiting for the imminent arrival of the contingents from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and another country yet to be named by the OAU chairman, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, in agreement with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Minister Complains of Cease-Fire Violations

EA0408123892 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
3 Aug 92

[Excerpts] Violations are continuing three days after a cease-fire—agreed to, as you know, in Arusha, Tanzania on 2 July—came into effect between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF]. We are now at the seventh violation. RPF fighters are firing mortars and machine guns, launching grenades, and abducting innocent civilians. We are joined by Defense Minister Dr. James Gasana, who briefs us on the general situation prevailing in the north of the

country since midnight on 1 July [as heard], the official date for the implementation of the cease-fire. Here he is:

[Begin recording] [Gasana] In general terms, three days after the implementation of the cease-fire, our forces have respected the strict orders we gave them. This has not been the case on the part of the RPF, the invincible fighters, as there have been no fewer than seven violations of this cease-fire by the RPF. Most of these violations took place on 1 August. The most tragic ones—I would like to stress this—were the abduction of Rwandan civilians, peasants working in their plantations. They abducted two girls—15- and 16-year-old girls—in [word indistinct] commune. We learned this morning that they abducted five people in (Bisige) on the same day. [passage omitted]

We have also learned that they had abducted other people in Kibari commune, but only for a few hours. They also provoked our soldiers by coming very near to our positions, to the point of attempting to enter into conversation with our soldiers, who refrained from reacting. That was on 2 August.

Today, 3 August, at 0200, there were shots by (?multiple) grenade (?launchers) against our positions near Rukomo, between the Muvumba commune office and Rukomo Catholic Church. At 0830, rebels fired at our soldiers near Kigitumba, near Kagitumba bridge.

[Unidentified reporter] Will you retaliate or will you continue to respect the cease-fire scrupulously?

[Gasana] Whatever they do, we are going to continue to respect the cease-fire very strictly as we had made commitments to do so. We will not leave our positions. We will not act as if we were the first to attack. We have told our soldiers about this on several occasions and so far they have really observed their orders. It should be understood, however, that if these provocations persist, people will have to defend themselves. People will not go on tolerating casualties and damage. We will not go on tolerating our civilian population's being abducted, as they are now. The Army is there to protect people and it will be derelict in its duties if it does not react. It is clear that if people continue to be abducted, if our positions continue to be shelled, we will undoubtedly reply in the most appropriate manner.

[Reporter] What, in your view, is the reason for the delay in the deployment of the group of military observers in Rwanda?

[Gasana] We have been informed that the delay was due to the fact that the commander of the Military Observers Group [MOG] had not yet been appointed. We have just learned, however, that one has been appointed. He is General [name indistinct] and he is due to arrive in the course of this week. We have also learned another piece of good news: The first MOG members—the Senegalese soldiers, if I am not mistaken—will start arriving tomorrow. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Further on Alleged Violations

EA0408222392 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Although there has not been any fighting comparable to that on 31 July in Byumba and Ruhengeri—that is to say on the day before [as heard] the implementation of the cease-fire—the Rwandan Patriotic Front is continuing its acts of provocation. Yesterday was marked by the following provocations:

In Kagitumba, a group of rebels opened fire on our forces stationed near the Kagitumba bridge; in Kabona, Oyeru Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture, the rebels stole four goats belonging to a person named Binyavanga; in (Bucyaba), the rebels abducted 40 civilians, whom they released after extorting their identity cards; in (Kaginga), the rebels removed all the house doors, probably to use them as cover [trous de fusiliers]; and in (Rembero), in the military operational sector, two unidentified civilians were severely wounded by enemy anti-personnel mines. It is worth noting that the rebels have adopted the strategy of infiltrating at night to plant anti-personnel mines in places where our soldiers and civilians pass. [passage omitted]

Zaire

National Conference Changes Country's Name

AB0408174592 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Text] Brussels, Aug 4 (AFP) - Zaire's national conference decided Tuesday [4 August] to give the country back its old name—the Republic of the Congo, the official press agency AZAP reported.

The conference, set up to lay the groundwork for a return to democratic rule, also changed the name of the south-eastern province of Shaba back to Katanga, the agency said in a dispatch monitored here.

The former Republic of the Congo-Kinshasa became Zaire in 1971. Its neighbour is known as Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville.

Delegates to the conference also decided to bring back the country's former national emblem and anthem, AZAP said.

The conference's decisions are binding on President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Mobutu Calls For Referendum

LD0408200292 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1900 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the republic, a participant in the sovereign national conference, has just reacted to the debate centered on the report by the committee on the transition period.

Giving his impressions to the Zaire press agency regarding the discussions under way at the sovereign national conference on the legal framework of the transition period—specifically, the decision to change the country's name, flag, and national anthem—President Mobutu let it be clearly understood that the entire question must be put to a referendum within the framework of the constitution that will govern the Third Republic, as was the case in 1964 and 1967 when the two previous constitutions that governed the republic were adopted.

The head of state stressed that the question of changing the name, the flag, and the national anthem was not raised during his recent talks with delegates of the different components of the sovereign national conference. These talks were centered entirely on examining matters relating to the management of the transition period. To decide now to take the people's place on a matter that is the concern of the primary authority alone would, in President Mobutu's view, be rushing into things in a dangerous manner and at the risk of causing a situation that could lead to thoughts of elections; in other words, attracting from the people themselves their ultimate sanction.

President Mobutu takes national and international opinion as testimony to his goodwill, expressed many times, aimed at reducing political tension in his country and establishing democratic institutions of the Third Republic to promote a transition free from conflict, while favoring the search for solutions to the worrying political, social, and economic problems of the world.

Kenya

President Moi Denies Meeting FORD's Matiba

EA0408122192 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] President Moi has dismissed reports appearing in today's STANDARD newspaper that FORD's [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] presidential hopeful Kenneth Matiba has met him recently as the fabrication of cheap lies without any foundation whatsoever.

In a statement, the president pointed out that he had never met Matiba since he left KANU [Kenya African National Union]. He reiterated that the introduction of multiparty politics was not a license for breeding of lies at all, which were evidently the stock in trade of the opposition in the country. [sentence as heard] He further noted that KANU was busy in its usual nation-building activities and helping wananchi [citizens] improve their standard of living. As such, the president said KANU did not wish to be dragged into the petty and time-wasting squabbles of the opposition parties in the country.

DP, FORD Officials Discuss Possible Merger

EA0408123092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] The DP [Democratic Party] and FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] officials are holding meetings to chart out modalities for a proposed merger. Sources at the DP headquarters said the announcement last week by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga [FORD interim chairman] of a possible merger was only the tip of the iceberg. The source said several meetings involving officials of the two parties had reached final stages of the process. Apart from a few meetings highlighted by the press recently, officers of the two parties' secretariats had held several meetings and the merger was only a matter of time.

Somalia

Somali Liberation Army Groups Hold Talks

EA0508102092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1700 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Excerpts] The second meeting of United Somali Congress [USC], Somali Patriotic Movement [SPM], Southern Somali National Movement [SSNM], and

Somali Democratic Movement [SDM] officials, taking place in Baardheere District in Gedo Region, concluded the first phase of its agenda yesterday at 1930.

The meeting, presided over by USC Chairman Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, discussed the method of cooperation, policy, and administration of the four groups. The second item discussed dealt with an agreement on the administration of the regions under the four groups.

Other issues discussed were the endorsement of Somali Liberation Army [SLA] as the umbrella name for the four groups, the strategy to deal with anyone opposed to the four groups, paving the way for a national conference, and sending representatives to foreign countries and international organizations to brief them on the views of the four groups. [passage omitted]

USC Chairman Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid commended representatives on the able way in which they had taken part in the proceedings. [passage omitted]

Mr. Aidid also disclosed that there was a plot by the Manifesto Group, Siad Barre's puppets, that had attempted to disguise itself as armed groups [words indistinct] and we should therefore increase our effort to complete the little that is left in our mission.

The meeting was attended by the chairmen of the three groups: Mr. Ahmed Omar Jays of the SPM; Mr. Abdi Warsameh Isaq of the SSNM; and Mr. Mohamed Nur Aliyow of the SDM. USC Defense Secretary Mr. 'Abd al-Nasir Ahmed Aden (Serjito) said that to overcome the obstacles impeding the four groups, a combined operation should be mounted in the areas where the Siad remnants are still hiding. He also said that a dialogue should be initiated with Somali communities. Anyone not working in the interest of the Somali people should be dealt with forcefully. He also pointed out that the activities of international organizations in the country should be reviewed.

Mr. 'Abd al-Nasir further declared that the Somali section of the BBC, which uses the guise of an international organization, was actually serving Siad Barre, was engaged in dividing the Somali people, and was working for the recolonization of our people. Therefore, he said, it was appropriate to confront the dangers caused by such a situation. [passage omitted]

Thousands Gather for Rally Outside Union Buildings

MB0508121392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1154 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] Pretoria Aug 5 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela started addressing (1.50pm) thousands of people congregated in front of the Union Buildings on Wednesday.

The lawn in front of the Union Buildings was fuller than it has ever been for any other political event in recent years, a SAPA reporter on the scene said.

Mr Mandela's arrival was met with cheers and chants from the crowd.

The crowd also chanted: "(State President F W) de Klerk must go."

A police helicopter hovered above.

The security forces were not on the grounds, but were lining Church Street.

Before Mr Mandela started his speech the crowd sang Nkosi Sikelele Iafrika [God Bless Africa] and raised the ANC flag on a flagpole the organisers had erected in front of the Union Buildings.

[In a subsequent report carried at 1328 GMT SAPA adds: "The rally addressed by African National Congress President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria ended at about 2:45pm and protest marchers were busy filing back to the starting point of the march route. A police spokesman said the official figure for the crowd attending the rally was 'more than 70,000'."]

Mandela Address

MB0508090492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0812 GMT 5 Aug 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress on 5 August "Address by Nelson R. Mandela at Union Buildings Pretoria, 5 August 1992"]

[Text] Our country is passing through the most important phase in its history. The passing of the old order of apartheid rule and the birth of a new era of peace, democracy and justice is marked with trials, tribulations and immense sacrifice.

The general strike on Monday and Tuesday is unquestionably one of the greatest events in our history. More than 4 million workers stayed away. Millions more of youth and students, housewives, business people and civil servants participated. It is time for all of us to read the lessons correctly.

What makes 4 million workers stay away from work, forgo their wages in the midst of rampant unemployment, poverty and when fear stalks their lives in the townships? A sacrifice of such immense magnitude by the most downtrodden sections of our people, who have

acted in the name of peace and democracy, requires an answer that measures up to the responsibility that this places on our shoulders.

Let us congratulate the people for the disciplined and peaceful way in which they have conducted the general strike. That is why it succeeded. They did not allow themselves to be intimidated by the government and all those forces who did everything in their power to defeat the action of the people. Nor did they allow themselves to be misled by the barrage of misinformation and false propaganda.

Nothing can detract from the fact that this general strike was peaceful. Those who still cling to the idea that the success of this mass action was based on intimidation do themselves an injustice. Because this could only be true if they believed that the ANC and its allies have the power to intimidate so many millions of people.

Let us congratulate all those employers, big and small, who responded to the call for peace and democracy, who closed their enterprises, and who committed themselves not to victimise their employees for staying away from work. They aligned themselves with the forces of democracy at great sacrifice. We say this advisedly because we know that they have to survive in an economy which is stagnating because of decades of apartheid rule, mismanagement and corruption.

The success of the general strike is also due to the way in which all the structures of the alliance, of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the South African Communist Party [SACP] and the ANC, persevered with the formidable task of organising the strike. In this regard, we congratulate all the democratic formations including the civics, the religious, students, teachers, womens, youth and cultural organisations. It is of special significance that the coloured and Indian communities overwhelmingly participated in the stayaway. They all acted with a unity of purpose which made the general strike a decisive blow for peace and democracy.

We congratulate the international community for rallying to our cause. The presence of the small United Nations monitoring force played no small role in ensuring that the democratic right of our people to engage in mass action was realised in practice.

This is not a victory for the ANC or COSATU or the SACP. It is a victory of the people of South Africa. It is a victory for peace and democracy. All South Africans, black and white, want peace, economic stability and a happy future for their children.

Viva peace and democracy!

The ANC and its allies, in embarking on mass action, did not act in order to score points for our organisations. The objectives behind the mass action are too serious to allow anyone to play party politics with the future of our people and the country.

Together all have struck a blow for peace and democracy. It is in this spirit that we are all obliged to see the period ahead. We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy.

If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process. All the people of our country and the entire international community await the response of the government.

It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward. Such a government can only be based on the political realities which reflect the sentiments of all South African citizens. Unless our country decisively moves forward to the establishment of an interim government there will be no progress.

Forward to an interim government of national unity!

The creation of an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy. This means that there must be a commitment to a sovereign, democratically elected constituent assembly.

It is critical that practical steps are taken by the government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people in the townships. These three categories of demands constitute the fourteen we have made to the government. Unless they are met satisfactorily by the government negotiations cannot be resumed.

It is time for the government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC and the democratic forces. Along this direction it also sought to build alliances with all sorts of dubious political formations in the hope that this will add to the process of weakening the ANC. This has been one of the gravest mistakes it committed in the current period. The time has arrived for it to abandon this path.

The ANC and its allies remain committed to the search for a negotiated resolution of the crisis facing our country. We have engaged in mass action with the clear objective of ensuring that the outcome of the negotiations is a democratic future for our country. What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations.

History will not forgive any of us if the search for face-saving formulae prevents us from finding the correct responses which facilitate negotiations to be resumed and to be successful.

The outcome of the mass action campaign must not allow any of us to become dizzy with success. Our people have shown that, in the midst of poverty, unemployment

and economic crisis, they remain firmly committed to act for peace and democracy. The millions who have shown this commitment need to be organised.

The campaign for peace and democracy must become a tidal wave which will thrust our country into a future where justice prevails, peace is assured and democracy becomes a way of life.

Let unity, discipline and peaceful action become the hallmark of everything we do.

Viva peace! Viva democracy!

Official on ANC Violations

MB0508145692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Text] The deputy minister of law and order, Mr. Johan Scheepers, says the ANC [African National Congress] violated conditions agreed on during this morning's march in Pretoria. In a statement, Mr. Scheepers said this violation is regretted and the government viewed this in a very serious light. According to Mr. Scheepers some of the participants carried AK-47s and some others had on worn-out Defense Force uniforms. Mr. Scheepers says it appeared the ANC could not control the crowds and they did not keep to the planned routes. He said there were also incidents of damage to property and plundering and that several blacks in Pretoria were pulled out of shops and were forced to take part in the march.

Further on Nationwide Two-Day General Strike

Move Into 'White Power' Centers

MB0408155792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1526 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—Mass action organisers on Tuesday said they planned to occupy city centres and business districts across the nation on Wednesday in a bid to move their campaign into "centres of white power". Police said they were prepared for any new mass campaign actions—and accused organisers of not keeping to "democratic agreements" reached before the campaign was launched.

A statement released at an ANC [African National Congress] news conference in Johannesburg declared the next two days "will witness new forms of protest. Throughout the country people will gather for marches and demonstrations in centres of white power. Comrade Nelson Mandela will lead a mass march on Union Buildings in Pretoria and there will be similar marches in other cities."

COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Publicity Secretary Neil Coleman, in an earlier interview with SAPA, said rumoured plans that routes into cities would be blocked off on Wednesday would depend on the actions of regional branches.

Police said they were prepared for any new actions planned by the African National Congress alliance for its continuing campaign on Wednesday—and all possible steps would be taken to maintain law and order.

SAP [South African Police] liaison spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen, interviewed in Pretoria, said police were aware of a campaign to occupy business premises. He accused mass action organisers of not adhering to democratic agreements before the campaign was launched. "We appeal to the organisers to keep to these agreements and to maintain a firm curb on their members at grassroots level. Firm steps will be taken against anyone who breaks the law."

In Durban mass action organisers said Wednesday would see "selective occupation" of government institutions, business enterprises and city streets in Natal. A gathering at "Albert Luthuli" square outside Durban's City Hall at noon on Wednesday would be informed of the day's programme, ANC officials said.

In Cape Town a freeway would be closed on Wednesday to allow protesters to walk into Cape Town from Langa in a demonstration. The city-bound lanes of the N2 freeway leading into Settler's Way were expected to be closed about 10AM. African National Congress Regional Assistant Secretary Willie Hofmeyr said on Tuesday. Incoming traffic would be diverted into Vanguard Drive by municipal traffic officers.

Ramaphosa Praises UN Observers

MB0408200592 Johannesburg SABA in English
1943 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg August 4 SABA—The presence of United Nations observers at potential flash points throughout the country has been effective and helped prevent possible violence in several centres, African National Congress Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said on Monday [as received]. Addressing a joint ANC [African National Congress]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]/SACP [South African Communist Party] news conference at the end of the two day national strike called to force the government into general elections within six to nine months, Mr Ramaphosa said the 10 person UN observer team had acted with impartiality and with great integrity.

The alliance claimed the participation in the mass strike, despite a massive disinformation campaign, had increased during the second day with impressive support from Indian and coloured communities. "Out of South Africa's total work force of six million at least four million had stayed away from work and in addition to this the schools boycott had averaged 92 per cent nation wide," Mr Ramaphosa said.

With reference to reported intimidation, Mr Ramaphosa said there had been regrettable incidents of stoning of vehicles and erection of barricades. "We unequivocally

condemn these actions and where members of our structures and organisations are found to be implicated the appropriate disciplinary action against those involved will be taken."

The ANC leader also expressed extreme concern about the situation in Ciskei, where military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had forbidden a march by strike supporters to the capital Bisho. "Even today we have been in contact with South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to intervene and get permission for the march to go ahead," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"The next two days will witness new forms of protest and throughout the country people will gather for marches and demonstrations in the centres of white power," he said. The next phase of the mass action would take the form of mass occupation of central business districts and city marches.

Kriel on Increased Violence

MB0408170392 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Law and Order Minister Heaus Kriel says incidents of violence increased by 300 percent, with 40 people dead, as a result of the ANC [African National Congress] mass action campaign. He said that the mass action had no impact, and that the ANC's most important purpose with this mass action campaign, to take over power from the government, has also not been realized.

[Begin Kriel recording] One must look at the aim of this mass action, and that is to overthrow the government so that the ANC and the Communists can have control of the country. There is no doubt about that. But I do not think they succeeded in doing that. The government is still in control of the situation in South Africa. Now the important question is: What have they gained with this mass action? [end recording]

Business Group Breakdown

MB0408183892 Johannesburg SABA in English
1800 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SABA—Special arrangements by employers had managed to cushion the impact of the stayaway on the economy, but the full impact on business would still have to be evaluated, according to the South African Chamber of Business [SACOB]. In a statement released on Tuesday [4 August], a day after the start of the African National Congress mass action programme, SACOB said the use of temporary staff, the continued maintenance of essential services, extra work to compensate for time lost, taking leave and re-arranged shift work had all helped to ease the cost to the economy.

The level of workers stayaway was influenced by intimidation, transport difficulties and contingency plans made by employees and there were wide regional disparities in the level of absenteeism, SACOB said. "According to SACOB's preliminary estimates the total stayaway

is not likely to have exceeded 2-million workers in the private sector, which would include a large proportion of employees who had made prior arrangements," it said.

SACOB's regional breakdown of worker absenteeism;

- Western Cape: 15 per cent
- Southern Natal and Zululand: 20 to 30 per cent
- Pietermaritzburg: 55 per cent
- Durban metropolitan area: 75 per cent
- Eastern Transvaal: 60 per cent
- Eastern Cape/Border: 85 per cent
- PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] Region: 90 per cent.

SACOB believed that levels of intimidation had been high in several areas. The business group expressed its concern for the loss of life, saying the situation remained volatile.

AWB Actions in Krugersdorp

*MB0408180492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1607 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC]-inspired mass action in Krugersdorp ended peacefully late Tuesday [4 August] afternoon despite threats from hard-line Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] members that they would disrupt proceedings. About 40 members of the radical rightwing organisation barred the demonstrators' route to the town council buildings, but cowed by the sheer number of marchers, retired to the sidewalk.

The 8,000 demonstrators proceeded to the Krugersdorp Town Council complex, where a memorandum was presented to cabinet minister and National Party [NP] MP for the town, Mr Leon Wessels. Mr Wessels and two NP councillors in the rightwing Conservative Party-dominated council accepted the memorandum from the marchers. Mr Wessels also responded to demands handed to the government by the ANC in the black township of Kagiso, outside Krugersdorp, last month.

The cabinet minister reiterated the government's call for a return to the negotiating table. He again denied allegations of government and security force complicity in the violence, and said these were "unwise, unfair and dangerous". "Your accusations that the NP in Krugersdorp and I are not concerned about the suffering of black South Africans does not do justice to our actions and public statements," he added in his written reply.

He welcomed the statement made by ANC President Nelson Mandela that in future disciplinary steps would

be taken against undisciplined members of the organisation. He would not rest until the country had liberated itself from senseless killings, unexplained deaths and "the cloud of death that smothers our search for peace, justice and democracy".

"Let us sit together around the negotiating table in Krugersdorp and on a national level in South Africa to find a lasting solution that is in the best interest of all of us."

The ANC's Mr Trevor Manuel said in response to Mr Wessel's denial of government complicity in the violence that State President F W de Klerk was commander-in-chief of the Defence Force and therefore responsible for the actions of its members.

During an otherwise peaceful day of mass action in the conservative West Rand town, racial insults were exchanged between AWB members and marchers. No violent incidents were reported. AWB member "Colonel" Henry de Beer complained to the police that the rally and the march were illegal as permission had not been sought or granted from the town council. The ANC had also not paid for the use of the Wanderers Stadium. He told SAPA he had laid a charge against the ANC for illegal occupation of the stadium.

In a brief meeting with the head of the United Nations observer mission, Mr Hashim Omayad, and the chairman of the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] peace committee, Mr Rupert Lorimer, Mr de Beer warned that if the police did not stop the march the AWB would.

Mr Lorimer urged him to reconsider his decision as any attempt to stop the march would inevitably result in violence. He emphasised that he and Mr Omayad were not there to demonstrate any political leanings but wanted only to observe. Mr Omayad told Mr de Beer that he too believed that the people of South Africa should resolve their own problems but the UN was there to help if needed.

The ANC, in its turn, also complained to senior policemen that the AWB was heavily armed and that this should not be allowed at political gatherings.

Shortly before the crowd dispersed, Mr Omayad congratulated the ANC for the peaceful demonstration. "I have no hesitation in saying the UN is very proud of you. It is important that your point of view can be expressed in a democratic framework and can be done in a peaceful, non-violent manner."

Mr Lorimer said the gathering had been a "totally peaceful exercise in democracy".

The crowd dispersed peacefully after singing the anthem Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika [God Bless Africa]. The jovial demonstrators ignored uniformed AWB members patrolling the streets.

The centre of town was dominated by a solid presence of security force members. Many shops and shopping centres remained closed for the day.

CP Criticism

*MB0408180692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1708 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—The minister of law and order would clearly not protect those who resisted the African National Congress' [ANC] march to power, Conservative Party [CP] President's Council member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said on Tuesday [4 August]. Reacting to the ANC's mass action in Krugersdorp on Tuesday, which included a rally at the Wanderers Stadium and a march on the town council buildings, he said it was clear Mr Hernus Kriel had adopted a policy of allowing the ANC free rein, whether local councils or residents wanted it or not.

The ANC had illegally marched through town, held an illegal gathering and illegally occupied the sportsground, he claimed. "The laws of the country and local ordinances are simply ignored by the minister, and the SAP [South African Police] is forced to carry out the minister's wishes."

Standoff in Ciskei

*MB0408185492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1718 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Bisho Aug 4 SAPA—A tense standoff for most of Tuesday [4 August] between mass action supporters and Ciskeian security forces ended at sunset when Brig Oupa Gqozo agreed to allow more than 30,000 demonstrators to officially enter the Bisho Stadium. The crowd then had the last say when they refused to use the back entrance to the stadium as instructed by the Ciskei security forces, and instead toyi-toyed [protest dance] down Bisho's main road and through the front entrance.

There SA Communist Party [SACP] Secretary-General Chris Hani addressed the crowd and a memorandum was handed to a Col William Henna, who represented the Ciskei commissioner of police, Maj-Gen J J Vikto. The patient crowd had waited in the blazing sun for more than five hours while sensitive negotiations were conducted.

Brig Gqozo and the African National Congress [ANC], SACP and Congress of SA Trade Unions [COSATU] alliance supporters started the day with hardline positions which seemed to offer no compromise. The brigadier vowed the marchers would not enter the nominally independent territory, while his opponents insisted they would not be stopped from marching on the legislative assembly buildings in Bisho.

Negotiations to end the impasse brought in Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, and SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. A

United Nations observer, Jose Campino, diligently followed the entire day's proceedings, which began when the marchers gathered in the Victoria cricket grounds in the centre of King William's Town, about 4km from the Ciskei border.

Dr Gildenhuys won the praise of most of the participants involved in the negotiations for having made every effort to resolve the issue peacefully. "Everything that saves lives makes me happy," a smiling Dr Gildenhuys said as thousands of protesters sang and danced past him on their way to the dark stadium.

There were more than a dozen times during the tense day when it seemed the standoff was about to explode. More than once journalists hurriedly moved to positions behind the Ciskei security forces, when it seemed the negotiations had collapsed and the shooting was about to begin.

About 150 members of the Ciskei police and defence force stood facing the crowd with guns, including light machine guns, cocked at the ready. Many of the protesters, including Mr Hani, plastered their faces with petroleum jelly to minimise the stinging effect of any teargas attacks.

Dr Gildenhuys spent most of the day driving between the Ciskei council of state and the march organisers in a white BMW with a huge UN flag flying from a back window. The first real sign of a possible breakthrough came when he announced at the border just after 2PM that the SA Government, through Mr Botha, had offered to act as a "facilitator" in a bid to break the deadlock.

He sent a message via a security force walkie-talkie that he wanted Mr Hani to call him urgently. The SACP leader agreed, but only after he had consulted with fellow march leaders and he had addressed the crowd. "I don't want them to think I am going to speak to Botha secretly," Mr Hani said.

Exactly one hour and 50 minutes later, Mr Hani stormed out of the nearby Amatola Hotel—where he had been whisked by Dr Gildenhuys to call Mr Botha—and muttered: "It's a stalemate", before being driven back to the crowd. Mr Hani had also spoken to ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, and Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa from the hotel.

By now the protesters had edged their way a couple hundred metres across the border into the Ciskei. Amazingly, the officers in charge of the security force members ordered them back each time the crowd moved forward.

Then the march leaders, which included COSATU Assistant Secretary General Sam Shilowa and ANC Executive members Raymond Suttner and Marion Sparg, met in a huddle and worked out their next move. Mr Hani explained he had waited long enough at the Amatola Sun for Mr Botha to come back to him, and the crowd had become impatient. According to reports, Mr Botha said he could not get hold of Brig Gqozo.

By then the sun was beginning its descent, and the Ciskei security forces headquarters issued a warning, again via the walkie talkie, if the protesters moved forward again they would be shot. It became clear too that those travelling in the ever-present Ciskei police helicopter circling above—journalists were told it was the "operations room" throughout Tuesday—were worried about the fast-approaching dark.

The leaders of the mass action march then came up with their last compromise proposal: They wanted to be allowed to take the crowd into the nearby Bisho Stadium. "Negative, negative", came the reply over the now centre of attraction walkie talkie.

Dr Gildenhuys was clearly not prepared to accept this and raced off for a face to face showdown with the Ciskei council of state. As always, Mr Campino was in tow, notebook at the ready. About 15 minutes later—it was almost dark—Dr Gildenhuys came back with the unexpected answer that the Ciskei council of state had agreed the marchers could enter the stadium.

The tensions immediately dropped as everyone realised the standoff was almost over. Mr Hani even cracked a joke with a Ciskei defence force member, and hugged his shoulders. However, another minor hitch cropped up.

The security forces insisted the protesters enter the back of the stadium, and not via the front which would have allowed them to march further down Bisho's main road. Mr Hani said this was impossible, as many of the marchers had already passed that point.

In a final compromise deal the two sides agreed a fence between the main road and the stadium would be broken down. But before this could be done, the protesters seemed to have reached the end of their patience. They just upped and toyi-toyed down the main road, and their leaders were forced to join in. The Ciskei security forces turned tail and ran.

Their officers—running behind—eventually got them to stop at the turnoff to the stadium about 500 metres away. Dozens of ANC marshalls joined them, and the demonstrators danced past and into an unlit stadium. This still didn't stop the "comrades"—they just bust the mains box open, flipped a switch, and the lights were on.

The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance was ready to hold a legal rally in Brig Gqozo's Ciskei.

Botha on Mediation

MB0408194692 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha by Lester Venter on the "Agenda" program in the SABC's Johannesburg studio—live]

[Text] [Venter] Mr. Botha, of all the instances of mass action on the go in the country today, what drove this particular instance to a state of near crisis?

[Botha] I think it is the almost inevitable opposition of the two parties involved and originally assuming an impeccable unchanging situation; the one saying: If you continue with your march we're going to stop you.

[Venter] You mean the Ciskei government and the ANC [African National Congress]?

[Botha, interrupting] The Ciskei, and the other one saying we're going to go ahead with our march and as the hours came closer we knew that this was going to be a very critical situation. It was a very long day.

[Venter] Mr. Botha, before I ask you how the crisis was averted, do you not think that the Ciskei government, perhaps, overreacted by disallowing the march?

[Botha] This is part of the problem. The Ciskei government is not, in principle, against returning to South African jurisdiction, but they made their position quite clear at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and in all the other discussions, that they first want to see how things would develop and how the new constitution would look like. Now whether we like it or not, we're all dealing with a position on the ground, a realistic position. We're not dealing with a situation where we say it should not have been. You're dealing with a situation where this is the case.

[Venter] But in this particular case do you think that the reaction of the Ciskei government was too strong? I mean, after all it was a peaceful march.

[Botha] I wouldn't like to comment on it because as I'm talking to you the crisis has not been completely staved off; I mean, there can still be problems and I cannot be seen to take sides here. The role I've played today was that of a mediator.

[Venter] Yes, would you give an account of the steps and the diplomacy involved in averting the crisis?

[Botha] It would take days but I'll try to summarize it. I sent, yesterday already, my deputy minister there to be on the ground because we expected the trouble and we kept ourselves informed, and the president, the whole day...[pauses] and what happened was at a given hour the marchers reached the Ciskei border. They crossed over and at that stage I only had minutes to try and stop it because if they had continued the indications were that they would have been stopped by gunfire and we don't know....

[Venter, interrupting] By the Ciskei forces?

[Botha] By the Ciskei forces. And what I then did was I sent one of my officials to the march to ask [South African Communist Party Secretary General] Mr. Hani to telephone me before he continues because of the grave consequences that were at stake. This he did, he phoned me. After he phoned me, I contacted [ANC Secretary General] Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa and I appealed to him

and I said to him: Look, whatever our political differences, as I'm now talking to you we know that if this march continues people are going to die, and maybe very, very many of them.

[Venter] Minister, do you also have contact with the Ciskei government and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo?

[Botha] All the time. With Colonel (Beetge), who was then in charge in the main government building with government members. I appealed to him, we endeavored various compromises, like a delegation. They stopped the march where they were, then they sent in a delegation to the Ciskei government with a petition to have discussions. Apparently at first this was agreed upon by all the parties, and the United Nations representative, I understand, was present, as well as [National Peace Secretariat Chairman] Dr. Gildenhuys.

[Venter] May I ask you was part of your appeals to the Ciskei government to allow the march to go ahead?

[Botha] I couldn't play that role. I tested them. I said to them, look, Mr. Hanu said to me, he guaranteed to me, that the march would be peaceful, that they would not enter buildings, would stage no sit-ins in buildings, would harm no one, but he said to me, at that stage, that the crowd was becoming uncontrollable. And all they want was to go peacefully to the Ciskei government's building. [sentence as heard] I then said to him but look, whether you recognize them or not, they said no, and it was already a compromise. I struggled for hours, through my representative, to persuade the Ciskei government to receive a delegation. So then I saw already as a point where we could meet each other, but apparently, you know, things happened like this, the crowd grew, and Mr. Hanu also came under pressure. So I then (?went) to Mr. Ramaphosa and I appealed to him, saying to him, look we have only one country, we will have to share it, we can't carry on like this. We can't sit and talk to one another as I'm talking to you now here knowing that in minutes maybe hundreds of people may be shot dead, and we will have to take the blame. You, ANC, Brig. Gqozo, the South African Government, and we are losing, we are losing towards the outside world. We are creating the impression that we are incapable of controlling this kind of critical situation.

[Venter] Minister, on the ground then what was the final compromise reached?

[Botha] Well, it was just a few minutes ago, I must say I tried everything. And I could not take sides because the government's role was that of mediating, and ensuring that South African interests, lives, and buildings are not damaged, and for that purpose I might as well tell you, we had four companies of troops in King William's Town.

[Venter] South African troops?

[Botha] Yes, and at the moment of speaking to you reinforcements have been brought in, into King

William's Town, so as to make sure that South Africa's interests are protected and we guarantee that protection.

Tutu Sees 'Resounding Success'

MB0408161592 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu says the two-day strike by millions of ANC [African National Congress] supporters has been a resounding success. Sam Venter reports from Cape Town:

[Venter] The stayaway has demonstrated that the ANC does have support, the archbishop says. The strike has been relatively peaceful, with far fewer deaths than people had feared, although even one death cannot be accepted, Tutu says. He slammed the government for suggesting the strike had been successful because of intimidation. If this is the government's claim, it means that the 5,000 police officers deployed to ensure the safety of those wanting to work were not doing their job properly. The government cannot have it both ways, Tutu says.

The monitoring of the strike by United Nations officials underlined how important it was to have international observers. The strike was one way in which black people could make a point, and by staying away in their millions people have shown that they want an interim government and a constitution making body, Tutu says. He urged that a constituent assembly be democratically elected as soon as possible.

Naidoo on Employer Support

MB0408160292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1348 GMT 4 Aug 92

[By Sipke de Vries]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—There had been significant support from employers for democratic transition in South Africa although they had differed with the ANC/COSATU/SACP [African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions/South African Communist Party] method of achieving it, COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo said on Monday [3 August]. "Many employers in this country are now starting to recognise that we are not going to have industrial peace in this country unless we have a democratic transition as that is our fundamental call for what we are trying to achieve," Naidoo told SAPA in an interview at the federation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

According to Mr Naidoo, the calls COSATU had received from business people on the mass action had been largely sympathetic, but there had been differences of opinion on the tactics and strategies used by the tripartite alliance. "However, what was important was the fact that we succeeded in shifting many employers in this country in accepting the legitimacy of our right in what are essentially political and socio-economic demands," Mr Naidoo said.

This was a real victory as this had achieved in principle what COSATU had been trying to achieve in earlier negotiations with the employer body SACCOLA [South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs], Naidoo said. He added, so far, the national stayaway had held well in most regions except for the mining sector which was affected by "its own peculiar conditions". "While it was very successful in general yesterday, many miners returned to work today," Naidoo said.

Naidoo shrugged off claims of intimidation of non-participants in the mass action, saying many incidents of intimidation could be laid at the doorsteps of "agents provocateur" as well as acts of intimidation by the security forces. "Considering the magnitude of the mass strike, we must regard intimidation as negligible, although we will take strong action against any of our members being proved to have been involved in intimidation tactics," he said.

Justice Department on Occupations

*MB0508073992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2248 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the South African Communication Service: "Press Statement by the Department of Justice"]

[Text] During the past weeks numerous attempts were made by supporters of the mass action campaign to occupy public and other buildings. In some instances occupations of private premises were also attempted. In response to a number of enquiries, a spokesman for the Department of Justice confirmed that the real or attempted occupation of private property amounts to trespassing which is a criminal offence. Property owners may lay charges where such occupation is not authorised. People whose rights are infringed and who may suffer damage as a result of unlawful activities may also consult their lawyers with a view to civil action.

Issued by the Department of Justice

Pretoria

4 August 1992

enquiries: Werner Krull (012) 323 8581 (w)

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Review of 4 Aug Action

*MB0508061392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2041 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—Millions of blacks stayed away from work on Tuesday, the second and final day of a crippling general strike overshadowed by the deaths of at least 40 people.

Business leaders said the strike had cost the economy R[Rand]250 million in lost production and had sapped business confidence.

The South African Chamber of Business said two million people heeded the call by the African National Congress [ANC], the South African Communist Party [SACP] and the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU].

The ANC alliance estimated the number at four million workers and students.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaans Trade Institute] noted a significant drop in sales in the retail trade and at chain stores during the strike.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said more than 40 people had been killed in the two-day stayaway, an increase of 300 per cent.

He reiterated the government charge the strike was marked by widespread intimidation, and said the tripartite alliance had "failed in its stated aim to overthrowing the government. The government is firmly in the saddle".

The ANC denied the government's charge of intimidation and said it condemned any violence that may have occurred during the strike.

In violence on Tuesday, alleged Inkatha supporters opened fire on a funeral procession at Ratanda, south-east of Johannesburg, killing three people and wounding three others.

Local ANC official Obed Nkosi said pallbearers abandoned the coffins and sought cover. Police intervened and the mourners regrouped to bury the three people allegedly killed by IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] supporters last week.

Also on Tuesday, gunmen shot and hacked to death five people in battle-scarred Alexandra township in a pre-dawn attack. Police later prevented hostel inmates from attacking the squatter camp, a stronghold of the ANC.

In Richmond, Natal, gunmen ambushed a car killing one man and wounding two other people—bringing to 18 the number of people killed in the province since Monday.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala meanwhile survived an attempted assassination when gunmen opened fire on a car in which he and other people were travelling. There were no reported injuries.

The attack came a day after the National Party called on the ANC to remove the controversial avowed Marxist from his position.

The deaths on Tuesday took to at least 51 the number of people killed in unrest since Sunday. Police said it was not clear whether all the deaths were linked to the general strike.

United Nations observers monitoring the protests helped defuse tensions in scenes of potential bloodshed and the National Peace Committee said their presence had contributed to peace.

According to PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] regional peace committee chairman Rupert Lorimer, "the visit of the UN team has made everyone behave better".

In the Ciskei, a standoff between more than 30,000 protesters and the homeland's military forces ended when military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo granted an 11th-hour permission for the protesters to march on the capital Bisho.

Brig Gqozo on Monday requested South African military help and declined to give the ANC permission for the march and threatened to use force to halt the protest.

But after lengthy negotiations between the two sides with the mediation of National Peace Secretariat Chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Brig Gqozo allowed the marchers to enter Bisho.

In Krugersdorp, threats of force by members of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] failed to halt a march through the town by about 8,000 black protesters.

About 40 AWB members who attempted to halt the protest fell back to the sidewalks apparently shaken by the sheer numbers of the marchers.

—The ANC plans to stage mass occupations of town and city centres from Wednesday and police say they are prepared to deal with the protests.

At a news conference ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The next two days will witness new forms of protest and throughout the country people will gather for marches and demonstrations in the centres of white power".

Situation in Natal

*MB0508054092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1955 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] Durban Aug 4 SAPA—Natal workers stayed away in their thousands again on Tuesday [4 August] with employers recording an average stayaway rate of between 51 and 65 per cent, and the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies claiming a success rate of over 80 per cent in the province. Police meanwhile said at least 18 people had been killed in Natal since early Monday morning. They also reported at least 40 buses were stoned while the Inkatha Freedom Party listed several incidents of intimidation.

Police did not link all the deaths directly to the mass action campaign organised by the ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. SA Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said the toll included killings

throughout Natal and kwaZulu, with the highest toll in Umlazi where at least eight people had been killed since 2AM on Monday.

The other deaths occurred in various townships stretching from Port Shepstone on the South Coast, to Natal's far North Coast. The toll excludes weekend unrest deaths and an attack on residents in Esikhawini township near Empangeni on Sunday night which left at least 10 dead. The ANC said 11 people died and claimed most were its members.

Figures released by the Durban Regional Chamber of Business, indicated an absentee figure of between 60 and 65 per cent, while the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said 51 per cent of the workforce had turned up according to a survey of 32 businesses in the midlands.

Durban and Pietermaritzburg townships were quiet again on Tuesday with a rally planned in Edendale outside Pietermaritzburg and a march in Inanda, north of Durban. People gathered at Amawoti, Inanda, at noon and organisers said about 3,000 people had proceeded to the local police station to protest against alleged kwaZulu police "abuse".

The ANC's Joint Working Committee [JWC], which is manning a monitoring office in Durban, said all was quiet on Tuesday afternoon. This was confirmed by the Natal/kwaZulu Dispute Resolution Committee. A JWC spokesman said many of the 18 people police said were killed had been participants in the mass action campaign.

Meanwhile, the third day of the campaign in Durban and Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday will see "selective occupation" of government institutions, business enterprises and city streets. A gathering at "Albert Luthuli" square outside Durban's city hall at noon on Wednesday would be informed of the day's programme, according to ANC officials.

Bloemfontein 'Success'

*MB0508065292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2235 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress: The ANC/COSATU/SACP Southern OFS [Orange Free State] Regional Tri-Partite Alliance Structures' Press Release on the Success of the 2nd Day of Mass Action]

[Text] Bloemfontein - this morning, the second day of the alliance's 'rolling' mass action, the regional leaders of the tri-partite alliance of the ANC/SACP/COSATU led a march of about 45,000 on Grootvlei Prison. The marchers were demanding the release of the remaining political prisoners locally and nationally.

Mr. Morris Moadira, the ANC's [African National Congress] regional treasurer, handed over the memorandum for the freeing of political prisoners and the guaranteeing of the safety of prisoners after one prisoner was allegedly

assisted to commit suicide by the prison officials. The prisoner set himself alight and died afterwards. Mr. J. Sondiyazi of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] local, Storey Thulo of SACP [South African Communist Party] and M. Fikizolo were co-leaders of the march.

Lieut. E.L. Steenberg of Grootvlei Prison received the memorandum on behalf of the prison authorities. Three leaders of the alliance entered the prison gates and demanded to talk to the head of the prison. The handing over of the memorandum turned dramatic when the three leaders demanded to be connected by telephone to the minister responsible, Mr. Kobie Coetzee. The crowd outside wanted to enter but were prevented by the prison authorities and members of the internal stabilisation unit in Bloemfontein. The prison authorities could not reach Mr. Kobie Coetzee by telephone. The three only agreed to leave after they were given the assurance by prison authorities that this matter will be raised with the minister and that such information will be relayed to the regional office in Bloemfontein tomorrow. The alliance set the deadline for the release of political prisoners as 31 August 1992.

The march to-day was part of a programme of a week of mass action. The march was also coupled with a second day of the stay-away. The alliance's regional monitoring committee put the percentage absenteeism from work at 80 per cent-90 per cent in the region, especially in Bloemfontein. Taxis were helping to ferry people to the prison some 20 km from the meeting point. "We wish to extend our appreciation and heart-felt thanks to all the people who participated in the march. A special word of thanks goes to our taxi drivers and owners who voluntarily offered transport for the elderly and the children who participated in the action. You have voted with your feet overwhelmingly in favour of peace and democracy. There was no single incident of ill-discipline, we thank you for that," Mr. Morris Moadira said.

Issued by: ANC/SACP/COSATU Campaigns Committee P.O. Box 7524 Bloemfontein 9300 Contact persons: Moses Mogamisa & Kaizer Sebothelo tel. (051) 48-0441/2/3/4 fax (051) 48-1245

ANC Says Unrest Areas Weapons Ban 'Inadequate'

*MB0408202292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1904 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Tuesday [4 August] expressed concern at the government's "continued lack of will" to introduce a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. The ANC said in a statement the announcement that the carrying of dangerous weapons was to be prohibited only in unrest areas, was "totally inadequate".

"This is not a preventative measure. Action is only deemed necessary once violence and killing has reached

an unacceptable level. In our view, one death is unacceptable, and pro-active measures are imperative. Conditions for the spread of violence are also created, because as soon as a ban on the carrying of weapons is introduced the instigators of the violence simply move to another area where no such ban exists," the ANC said.

It said it was a well-known fact that Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members had been bused from one area to another "bringing their weapons of death and mayhem along with them". The latest steps taken by the government were likely to strengthen this pattern.

"The very obvious answer to the serious problem of the continuing killing of people with assegais, pangas, spears and other weapons is to ban all such weapons in public. Despite the numerous calls of the ANC and other human rights organisations for such a ban (State President Mr F W) de Klerk continues to play political games with the lives of our people."

In consultation with Mr Justice Goldstone, an interim agreement had been reached between the SA Police, the ANC, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the SACP [South African Communist Party] on the conduct of public demonstrations. Paragraph three of the agreement stated participants in demonstrations should not be in possession of dangerous weapons. Mr Justice Goldstone had expressed his regret that the IFP did not agree to the terms of paragraph three and had emphasised his commission of inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation could not accept the necessity to carry dangerous weapons during demonstrations, the ANC said.

"Despite these remarks and their acceptance by the SA Police, the government has inexplicably decided to continue to allow IFP members and supporters to carry their deadly weapons with impunity. Are these the actions of a government that claims to have done everything to curb the violence? It is because of the government's intransigence to act decisively on the violence and accept full democratic norms that the ANC-COSATU-SACP alliance launched the campaign for peace and democracy, in which millions of South Africans are participating. Our country is in a deep crisis; we urge the government to stop playing cynical political games. Our country's future is at stake," the ANC statement said.

ANC Decries Government 'Disinformation Campaign'

*MB0508073892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2339 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress: "ANC Press Statement on Government Abuse of Office"]

[Text] The run-up to the week of action has once again emphasised the urgent need for an interim government. The De Klerk regime has clearly embarked on a massive disinformation campaign at taxpayers' expense.

We take strong exception to the series of advertisements against the national strike placed in the print media by the government. These advertisements project the party political position of the National Party, and the resources of state, including funds and infrastructure, cannot and should not be used to manipulate public opinion.

Issued by: the Department of Information and Publicity,

P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107, Johannesburg.

Police Deny Koevoet Unit Still Functioning

MB0508053992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2032 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—Allegations that members of the former Koevoet [former police counter-insurgency unit in Namibia] police unit were deployed in the southeastern Transvaal last week were categorically denied by the SAP [South African Police] on Tuesday [4 Augut]. "Allegations that the Investigation Support Service Unit, or so-called Koevoet, is still functioning are devoid of all truth," a terse SAP statement said. The accusation that Driefontein residents had been intimidated on the eve of an African National Congress [ANC] rally on Sunday was also untrue, said the SAP.

The statement followed claims by Driefontein ANC branch chairman Yunus Cajee on Sunday that Koevoet members had been used on Friday and Saturday in house-to-house searches and general harassment of local residents.

The SAP said their Eastern Transvaal region was engaged in "comprehensive crime prevention operations". "The present operations already began on July 30 in the Lydenburg district from where they were extended to the Standerton and Ermelo districts." The SAP also said that on Saturday the president of the local ANC branch and other leaders in the Driefontein area had been informed of the crime prevention operation.

With reference to Mr Cajee's statement that members of the police unit on duty in the Driefontein area last week had used a foreign language, the SAP said they had begun with the immediate compilation of a training syllabus and other training material for the group. "A language problem, level of education and reference framework complicates compilation of an appropriate curriculum for the members," the statement said.

The SAP added that components and sections of the former Koevoet unit had been disbanded and individual members had been transferred to police stations on a decentralised basis. "The members at the police stations are employed in groups of five or less and they will receive in-service training on a individual basis until such time as their training course commences," the SAP statement concluded.

Constitutional Talks on Track 'Within Two Weeks'

MB0508101492 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 5 Aug 92 p 1

[Report by Billy Paddock and Tim Cohen: "Key Players Prepare To Resume Talks"]

[Text] Talks to haul constitutional negotiations back on track could take place within two weeks, with government no longer committed to a negotiated interim constitution or to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] as a forum.

However, according to a senior government source, it is unlikely that legislation to implement an interim government would be ready for the October parliamentary session. It would be ready by the beginning of next year.

In discussion with businessmen late last week, ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela indicated the likelihood of an early return to negotiations and his desire for the speedy establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In separate talks with DP [Democratic Party] constitutional expert Colin Eglin and Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, Mandela said he believed once the stayaways and mass action did run their course, talks would resume after a "cooling off period" of about 10 days.

The upbeat prognosis was given further impetus by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who left SA last night after talks with government, Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was confident that negotiations would resume soon. This was, however, on condition that government took certain clearly defined steps relating to fulfil these conditions.

A senior government source confirmed government was not committed to first negotiating an interim constitution, but—to speed up the process—would happily negotiate amendments to the tricameral constitution for the interim period.

According to government and diplomatic sources, there would first be a period of bilateral talks between the ANC and government on the resumption of negotiations and the forum for such negotiations. It is understood these discussions would attempt to address the constitutional issues—including regionalism—which led to the impasse at Codesa II. There is apparently room for manoeuvre on both sides.

The bilateral talks would result in expanded multilateral negotiations, possibly including newly formed right-wing groups.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpoit said last night government did not want to be prescriptive about the forum for negotiations.

At a media conference last night Cohen said: "In terms of the configuration of the negotiating forum I have the impression that the very large, complex system of Codesa was quite appropriate for the many issues that have taken them nine-tenths of the way. But for the last, very difficult one-tenth, a more efficient and less unwieldy mechanism is being sought."

He said he did not think negotiations should be held hostage by the issue of violence but there was a real danger that violence could become part of the fabric of SA society. He was also very concerned about the economic situation.

Rights Group Sees 'Creeping' State of Emergency

MB0408134792 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 4 Aug 92 p 2

[Report by Billy Paddock: "Emergency 'Declared Through the Back Door'"]

[Text] A state of emergency has been creeping in through the back door, with about 180 "unrest areas" declared in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], Natal and the western Cape, the Human Rights Commission [HRC] said yesterday.

The latest declarations in the PWV area had completed the SA Police's strangle-hold on 20 townships in the area in preparation for mass action, the commission alleged.

In a statement, the HRC said human rights monitors had warned that government was planning to introduce the powers of a state of emergency without formally declaring one when the Public Safety Act was amended in 1986.

The amendment made provision to permit the declaration of unrest areas in addition to states of emergency.

The HRC claimed that this prediction was realised in August 1990, when certain townships were declared unrest areas following the lifting of the four-year nationwide state of emergency a few months earlier.

"An effective, partial state of emergency began creeping in through the back door. Most of the familiar powers of repression, including night-time curfews, returned to the affected townships," the statement said.

The HRC said the justification given by the authorities for declaring unrest areas had been inconsistent with the fact that numerous areas in Natal had not been declared unrest areas despite high levels of violence.

"By contrast, the two most recent declarations—Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville on the West Rand and Daveyton and Wattville near Benoni—were made in view of such comparatively low-key circumstances that the declaration can by no stretch of the imagination be justified, even using the standards of the SA Police," the HRC said.

The commission said that a state of emergency, to all intents and purposes, was not effective in the PWV area, with 5,000 police and troops dominating the 20 townships. "It is a state of emergency by stealth and achieves much the same purpose as an open declaration....to be condemned and rejected as a violation of basic human rights," the HRC said.

A government spokesman could not be reached last night.

CP Dissident Beyers Discusses Policy, Strategy

MB0508115692 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Interview with Conservative Party MP for Potches-troom Andries Beyers by Clarence Keyter on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Keyter] A split in the Conservative Party [CP] seems inevitable after the CP MP for Potchefstroom, Mr. Andries Beyers, came out strongly at the weekend against some aspects of party policy and strategy. He was addressing a youth gathering at Naboomspruit and attracted wide support for his views. Mr. Beyers is with me in the studio to discuss the troubles within the party, which are now being brought to a head. Good evening, Mr. Beyers.

[Beyers] Good evening.

[Keyter] The first cracks in the party apparently started to appear about 18 months ago when Mr. Koos van der Merwe was removed from his post as party information chief. He later left the party and was followed by Mr. Koos Botha. How many more are there with you?

[Beyers] There is a general feeling within the party that proper planning must be made for the future. There is wide support for this, both among our MPs and outside parliament. I am an outspoken proponent of proper planning; we must have a plan. I believe there are opportunities which can be used for the sake of my people's right to self-determination. Our plans must be practical and practicable. I am confident that such planning is possible; those plans must be put on the table and they must be used to the best advantage of our people.

[Keyter] It's interesting to note that it's the so-called new right who feel and think the way you and Koos van der Merwe do, and that the older, hardened CP members are the ones who broke away from the National Party [NP]. I believe the two exceptions are Mr. Koos van der Merwe and Mr. Schalk Pienaar. Is that significant in any way?

[Beyers] I am not interested in discussing colleagues. I also do not wish to attack the CP. I don't want to do that. I have developed a vision of the future for my people and my colleagues; I believe it can work and I want to give it my full attention. The plan, the vision of the future is practical, it is possible, and it places us in a better position that we are in now.

[Keyter] At the weekend you mentioned alliances. With whom?

[Beyers] I think the reality of the new politics unfolding in South Africa indicates that the NP and Inkatha and other black parties are beginning to move away from the idea of a unitary state and toward our way of thinking. This emphasis, away from the unitary state idea, creates new opportunities. They are now suddenly emphasizing regional government, federalism, and the like, and I detect a hankering in many other parties for some form of self-determination. That is our policy, and if this kind of thinking continues, it is possible that former political opponents may in the future form alliances with one another. The pressing circumstances facing us may make this possible on the road ahead.

[Keyter] But to get to that point one must negotiate, and that's something the CP have always said they will not do. They do not want to sit at the negotiation table with communists. Indeed, CP MP Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg says people involved with Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and those who negotiate are guilty of treason.

[Beyers] My view on negotiation is that it is not an issue of principle, but of strategy. I believe that from time to time and from case to case one must decide whether to take part in particular negotiations; if it is in one's people's interests to do so, then one must consider the idea. I believe you must keep your options open. In that way you can best serve the interests of your people.

[Keyter] What led you to this kind of thinking? You are the youngest serving CP MP in parliament. At Potchefstroom you came out very strongly against negotiation. What made you change your mind?

[Beyers] I have always said we must negotiate. I said that to the party. I believe we must negotiate when it is in our interests and if we can promote our right to self-determination by doing so. I think that needs to be given more emphasis. The referendum result changed the political playing field drastically. If there is no longer going to be a general election, we must use other methods, including skilful bargaining and that means negotiation.

[Keyter] Mr. Beyers, why did it take you and other like-minded people in the party so long to come to the fore with your convictions?

[Beyers] We made our views very clear within the party over a long period of time. We went out of our way to try to get consensus and support for our views. I believe that was the responsible way of doing things. We did everything possible within the party to convince them that we needed a plan for the future. Our people, our youth, they all expect it of us; they demand it of us, we owe it to our young people.

[Keyter] But there is apparently no consensus in the party on that.

[Beyers] There is growing support, and the support is increasing daily in favor of the new trend of thought, for the direction toward a new vision for our future.

[Keyter] But there also seems to be a section of the party which does not agree with you at all costs. Does it necessarily mean the party is heading for a split?

[Beyers] I do not want to talk about a split at this stage. I draw hope from the fact that many of our people will eventually realize that we have to move in a new direction. I have tremendous hope for our future. I want to say that the need is now greater than ever before for Afrikaners to come together—Afrikaners within and without the CP; the need to create a firm union. The pressing and urgent circumstances demand this from us. In the Potchefstroom by-elections, I appealed to people, even to those outside the CP. I reached out to them and said: Let us join hands on the big road for the sake of South Africa. Tonight I ask the same again; that a more solid bond and unity should come about among Afrikaners to challenge the future. We depend on one another, we need one another, and I think our plan does set out a vision for the future.

[Keyter] You are talking about the big road of South Africa, yet you propose two nation states, one in the north and one in the south, and for the one in the south you propose cooperation with colored South Africans.

[Beyers] We suggest that the proposals regarding regional government should be a vehicle for us which will ultimately lead us to attaining our own freedom, and that is why we say we should get involved in the planning of regional government, that we have to ask for regional powers to be as large as possible, and the powers of the central authority be as small as possible. Now we are asking that in the north of the country, north of the Orange River, a boundary be drawn up and an area be demarcated where our people can be in the majority, and in the south a boundary can be drawn up with possibly two regions, with the whites and the coloreds, where the Afrikaners and the coloreds can come to agreement on the political future of such a region or regions. Our priority is a fatherland, but we will subject ourselves to the agreements which may be reached there between the Afrikaner and the coloreds of the Cape Province.

[Keyter] Just briefly two little issues. You are not talking about a non-racial nation state?

[Beyers] No, I am saying that we must concentrate on that. We base our case on the aspirations and the legitimate demands of the Afrikaner. It is not based on race, because if we put forward demands on a racial basis, that is, the white race, then we get accused of racism, and in that way our course will not be served.

[Keyter] Should Codesa II be resumed, or if a third Codesa materializes, will you be there?

[Beyers] I maintain that only when it has been decided how a future Codesa or a future different negotiation

forum will be constituted, that we will decide whether it will be in our interest or not to participate. We must have an open agenda regarding an open option. We have to keep our options open, and should we decide that it is in the interest of our people's right to self-determination, then we will have to participate.

[Keyter] This is the last question, Mr. Beyers. Is the sword of Damocles hanging over your head for Thursday?

[Beyers] I carried out my duties in the party to the best of my ability. I have sacrificed a lot for my party; at one time I was even prepared to sit in jail for my party's sake. I hold my party's unity in very high esteem. I love my leaders. They should only have made it possible for me, and for people who feel like me, to tread a new road into the future, so that our people can have hope, so that a plan can come to the table, and so that we are able to negotiate wisely for the future. We must take advantage of opportunities currently at our disposal for the sake of our people, and for the sake of our nation, which we so dearly love.

[Keyter] Mr. Beyers, thank you very much for your time.

[Beyers] Thank you.

Disagreement With Constituency

*MB0508141392 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 5 Aug 92*

[Text] The Executive of the Conservative Party's [CP] constituency council in Potchefstroom has dissociated itself from statements by local MP Andries Beyers regarding negotiations with all parties and the establishment of a smaller national state. Mr. Beyers is urged in a statement to outline his case at the coming special congress of the party and to abide by the majority decision. Mr. Beyers, it said, had deviated from the mandate received from his constituency. In another development 26 CP youth leaders at the University of Pretoria have broken off ties with the party.

Air Force Chief Interviewed on New Role, Budget

*MB0108194292 Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans
Jun 92 pp 18, 19*

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General James Kriel, chief of the South African Air Force, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] The changed political climate in South Africa, as well as the relative peace ahead, raises the question of what role the Air Force will play in peacetime. Will humanitarian aid increase and, in the light of cuts to the defense force budget, how will its effectiveness be maintained? We posed this and other questions to Air Force Chief Lieutenant General James Kriel.

[PARATUS] General, could you explain what the Air Force "of the future" will look like?

[Kriel] The political changes in the Eastern Bloc, in southern Africa, and in South Africa over the past few years have necessitated a great deal of adaptation in the South African Defense Force [SADF] and the South African Air Force [SAAF]. As a result, up to now the Air Force has withdrawn more than 120 aircraft from service and disbanded nine Air Force units. Rationalization already planned will take a few more years to implement fully. So we are talking of a much leaner Air Force, but that does not mean that we will be diminishing our ability. By means of effective management of our resources, the selective utilization of superior technology, and the skills of our personnel, we plan to remain an astute, well-balanced Air Force.

[PARATUS] Is it necessary for a country striving for peace to continue maintaining a military force especially trained for war?

[Kriel] I want to correct right away the misconception in your question; namely, that the SAAF has been trained for a war situation. Its mission is to provide professional and cost-effective air capability to the country's security forces and other interest groups. We have, therefore, been trained to render a service to our clients, a service which includes humanitarian aid, search and rescue operations, supporting the SAP [South African Police] and other state departments, etc. But it remains the SADF's and the SAAF's unique responsibility to defend the country against actual or potential military dangers, like the security forces of Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, or Australia, which are not now experiencing any real danger. Conflict and the possibility of war is, however, one of the most unpleasant realities of international politics and even if there is no immediate significant threat, it remains the responsibility of the security forces to be able to withstand any aggression.

Of course, the ideal is to scare off a potential aggressor and not to get involved in a war, but to be successful in defending the country if the scare tactic should fail. It, therefore, requires that a certain level of conventional ability be maintained. It is not something which can be engaged in at short notice. As a matter of fact this is where the SAAF's fighting power plays a key role, because the fighter is really the weapon which can attack fast, accurately, and with great impact.

The fact that we have fighters does not necessarily mean that we are solely established for warfare. The SAAF also performs a wide range of functions which can be utilized during peacetime.

[PARATUS] The Air Force has always played an important role in search and rescue operations. Will this particular role be extended, or will assistance only be more readily available?

[Kriel] Our participation in rescue operations during the Océanos disaster and the floods in the Orange Free State and Natal a few years ago, emergency assistance to neighboring states, fire fighting, and humanitarian aid,

seen almost every week in our media, is to us a source of great satisfaction and pride.

The scale on which the SAAF gets involved and functions in such operations depends on demand and the resources at our disposal. The aircraft used during operations is nevertheless designed mainly for SAAF military operations. We are, therefore, not designed for the role, but we can assure you that the SAAF will to the best of its ability provide maximum service for the preservation of life and the protection of property. This is part of the general service of our mission.

[PARATUS] Is there a possibility of expanding and updating the Air Force's aircraft?

[Kriel] The SAAF has for a long time been following the policy of updating and upgrading its aircraft. Examples are the Cheetah, the Dakota, and the Puma helicopter. The policy did not only save money, but it resulted in the establishment of a significant local aircraft industry and a high level of technological skills, which is an important asset for South Africa. Because of pressure on funding, it is sensible to continue with such a policy, if it is operationally and economically justifiable, even if foreign technology become more accessible.

Local technological skills have the important advantage of keeping a potential enemy guessing as to what our operational ability really is like, while the ability of acquired systems is largely well known. Our technological skills thus gives us a leading advantage, and creates an uncertainty which is an important contribution to our scare capabilities.

[PARATUS] In the light of the increasing/y positive attitude by foreign countries toward South Africa, how will this affect the SAAF's international relations?

[Kriel] Despite the isolation campaign the SAAF has maintained continuous contact with certain air forces. We really appreciate the relationships we were able to maintain despite unfavorable conditions. In this regard the air force is no different from any other organization. This type of cross pollination and stimulating contact with other people in the same business is absolutely necessary.

In this new climate we hope to expand our contact with sympathetic air forces because in this manner we can exchange skills and operational experience. This will be mutually beneficial. The fact is that several air forces, whose governments adopted a negative stance toward South Africa in the past, have already made a positive approach to the SAAF.

[PARATUS] To what extent has flight training been affected by budget cuts?

[Kriel] The quality of our pilots and other air control staff has always been a source of pride for the SAAF and this gave us a winning edge few air forces can match. Our pilots are without doubt among the best in the world. We

want to maintain that standard at all costs. Technological developments, however, demand that we also rationalize our training programs.

The gap between the Harvard training aircraft, in service for more than 50 years, and modern training aircraft, is simply too big. Despite the budgetary cuts the acquisition of a modern training aircraft is of utmost importance to the SAAF because this will form the nucleus of the training program.

The advantage of the quality training offered by the SAAF is not limited to the SAAF. Pilots and technicians trained by the SAAF are of benefit to the country and can offer excellent service elsewhere in the air industry. It is thus not farfetched to say that, through training, the SAAF can make a big contribution to greater national advantage.

[PARATUS] How do the SAAF's capabilities compare with those of other countries?

[Kriel] A comparison between the SAAF's size and the air forces of the superpowers is not really practical, but as far as quality is concerned the SAAF is on par with the best in the world. The rationalization of the SAAF follows as a result of the decrease of conflict in the region. The threat against South Africa has undergone a revolutionary qualitative and quantitative change and the SAAF's rationalization is aimed at adapting itself to any potential threat to the region.

In that context the SAAF compares favorably to other air forces in the region. The high standards expected of its personnel, the quality of its weaponry, its well-developed doctrines and fighting tactics and its advanced technology ensures that the SAAF is the leading air force in southern Africa, and will always be so.

[PARATUS] What are currently the most significant restraints in the SAAF, and how do you propose to overcome them?

[Kriel] There are three obstacles which I would like to address. The first one is the feeling of uncertainty which recent changes have brought about in people. We have been through a rough time—the transition from war to peace, the rationalizing of equipment, units, and staff—it has been and is still traumatic, and it is to be understood that people will experience uncertainty in such a situation. We are fully aware of it, and we are trying, through deliberate planning and sound management of the SAAF's most important key asset—its people, to limit disruption as much as possible. The fact is that with the recent attenuation exercise through negotiation, personal preferences of all members could be addressed.

As a matter of fact, we cannot live in the past, and we have to accept the challenges of the future positively and use the opportunities it offers to create a future for ourselves. There are no instant solutions, but I am

nonetheless convinced that with the necessary dedication and initiative, a future can be built.

The second point of concern is the loss of combat experience which the SAAF gained in Angola. It is a fact that experience primarily resides in people. It is, therefore, inevitable that combat experience will be lost at the end of a conflict, as the people involved leave the system. In the long term, the only solution would be to ingrain the experience into doctrines, and to keep it alive through exercises such as Golden Eagle. Critics will argue that such exercises are expensive and that such expenditure is unnecessary, but it is an indispensable instrument for instilling preparedness in an air force in times of peace.

Third, the SAAF will, despite the upgrading and updating of systems within the next 10 to 15 years, have to replace some of its aircraft. The SAAF will be competing with many other priorities for funds, and unless there is a dramatic turnaround in the economy, it will be extremely difficult to obtain funds. If the SAAF can in fact show that we manage our financial resources effectively and deliver the goods for the money as regards the services which we render, half the battle would already be won. We, therefore, expect that we will still carry out our operational capabilities using modern equipment.

[PARATUS] How does the uncertain political situation in the country influence your organization?

[Kriel] Political developments in the country do as a matter of fact affect the SAAF as an organization, and also its people as individuals. The rationalization that we have already spoken about is an offshoot of political developments. The SAAF, while it is still a component of the SADF, remains the protector of the Constitution. As such, it is a stabilizing factor in these uncertain and often turbulent times in which we live. There is, therefore, a mutual influence—adaptation of the SAAF to change which takes place constitutionally, and the stabilization of the SAAF so that the change takes place within the Constitution.

The SAAF can go into the future with confidence, while at the same time I have the greatest confidence in our people. Our motto is in fact: "A change, a challenge, a future."

5 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB0508132992

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Reason for 'Cautious Optimism' After Mass Action—"No longer can anyone pretend" that the ANC/COSATU/SACP (African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions/South African Communist Party) decision to press ahead with mass action "could take place without a corresponding increase in tensions and levels of intimidation," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 5

August. "Quite the opposite: the confrontational atmosphere is coming closer and closer to creating pockets of true ungovernability in certain Vaal townships. Anarchy, once it has arrived, will not easily be eradicated—even if a negotiated settlement is signed. Just as importantly, no one can deny that the economy is hurting badly. It is no exaggeration to say it might not be able to sustain many more such disruptions. But beneath this bleak scenario, there is reason for cautious optimism as the mass action showdown peaks and then, hopefully, begins to peter out." Now that the ANC has had the opportunity to "flex its muscles, albeit at a price, there may be a face-saving way back to the table."

Transitional Government Would Halt Incipient Anarchy—A second editorial on the same page remarks that the shooting in Sebokeng of two journalists "illustrates that it is no exaggeration to talk of incipient anarchy in South Africa." The evidence so far suggests the journalists' attackers were car hijackers. "But that kind of brutal banditry—the attack occurred in broad daylight, as have similar hijackings in white suburbia—can happen only where authority is weak." Therefore, if President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela "do not want to see chunks of South Africa slip into irreversible ungovernability, they had better stop squabbling soon. The best guarantee against anarchy is the installation of a transitional government with moral and political legitimacy."

BUSINESS DAY

New Legislation on Carrying Weapons Victory for ANC—Commenting on the new legislation on the carrying of weapons in unrest areas, Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 5 August in a page 8 editorial says: "The move, inadequate though it is, may be regarded as something of a victory for the ANC, because there are no exemptions for cultural weapons which it believes have been exploited by Inkatha. "It is up to the police to enforce the regulations in the areas where they now apply. Unless they do, the exercise will be shown up as no more than a gesture. Then the regulations should be extended countrywide."

SOWETAN

Dismay at Attacks on Journalists—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 5 August in a page 6 editorial looks upon the attack on two journalists on 4 August with "utmost dismay." "The targeting of journalists is happening too frequently to be purely accidental. A handgrenade was deliberately flung at a group of journalists covering unrest in Meadowlands, Soweto, about two months ago. A foreign correspondent was sought out at the funeral of the victims of the Boipatong massacre and savagely assaulted." "An incontrovertible fact of the unfolding South African political drama is the indispensable role of independent and probing journalists. Our job will become intolerable, however, if journalists are deliberately placed in the firing line."

*** AWB Membership Fees, Requirements Discussed**

92AF1013A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
18 Jun 92 p 18

[Unattributed article: "AWB Raising Funds To Pay Top Leadership and Eugene Terre'Blanche"]

[Text] At the AWB's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement's] camper on Empire Road, "Captain" Joseph Smith walks out to meet you as if he has known you for a long time.

On Soweto Day, next to the camper, between AWB signs and mementos being offered for sale, his comrades, also in uniform and armed, are barbecuing.

"Welcome. Are you here to join?" He extends his hand to grip your forearm and greet you in AWB style. In the end your hand just ends up in his in a conventional handshake. What else when a person does not know how....

The AWB is in the process of raising funds. The leader, Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche, and the other top leaders must be paid. The AWB does not receive presents from the government as does the ANC [African National Congress], the short "captain" told us.

He stated that the AWB does not want to be known only as an organization which exists in rural areas, but also wants to prove to people that it is strongly established in the cities.

The men and women in uniform by the barbecue greet you in a friendly way in Afrikaans. You are led into the camper. A photograph of Mr. Terre'Blanche is hanging on the door of the wardrobe. He is the one who needs to get the money.

According to "Captain" Smith, who is from Turffontein in Johannesburg, there are 700 districts within the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] industrial area.

"It will not be long now until we catch the natives. That is a fact. Today we are simply taking advantage of their Soweto Day to raise money. It really is fun to be driving through the quiet streets like this," he said/asked with an oblique smile.

From Empire Road they are going to Alberton, stop the camper, and recruit people. The day before yesterday, in the morning, 12 people had already joined the AWB on Empire Road.

It costs 10 rands for a person to join and another 10 rands (or more) per month for the privilege of belonging to that organization. Monthly donations take place simply by bank transfer.

The requirements to belong to the AWB?

"You just have to be a South African, believe in God, and abhor terrorists," he said while giving you the application form. That form may not be taken out of the camper.

Questions such as what kinds of weapons and vehicles you own and whether you have completed your military service, appear on the second page.

*** Police Use American Plane To Fight Crime**

92AF1013B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
22 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by Gert van der Westhuizen: "The New 'Weapon' of the Police Successful in Fighting Crime—Pilatus Porter Imported From America"]

[Text] To be a criminal in Pretoria these days is becoming increasingly difficult—especially since the Police Department decided to use a "new weapon" against criminals.

And inhabitants of neighborhoods where crime used to be rampant should think twice before they start complaining about a light airplane flying low over the roofs of their houses.

Because that plane—a Pilatus Porter imported from America—is the "new weapon" which has been deployed with so much success already in neighborhoods such as Wingate Park, Erasmia, and Verwoerdburg.

According to Captain Andrew Lesch, liaison officer for the Police Department in North Transvaal, the plane was used for the first time over Verwoerdburg from 22 to 25 May.

The decision was made to call in this kind of assistance because in certain areas the number of burglaries was unacceptably high. In addition, the public is not cooperating with the police in preventing crimes.

During the period of 15 to 18 May, 20 burglaries, 11 vehicle thefts, and eight incidents of people losing property from their cars, occurred in Verwoerdburg.

Following the first use of the plane, only five burglaries, two vehicle thefts, and two incidents in which vehicles were broken into occurred over a period of three days—with the assistance of the "eye in the sky," two burglars were caught in the act.

With that plane, policemen in the air are in direct radio contact with vehicles and foot patrols on the ground.

People in the know argue that it is much easier to keep an eye on movement on the ground from an airplane than from a helicopter. In addition, a plane can "pursue" any vehicle on the ground and circle whenever necessary.

The plane needs only approximately 70 meters to take off and can land within approximately 100 meters.

It costs less than 200 rands to keep an airplane in the air for an hour. For every hour a helicopter can stay in the air, the airplane can fly back and forth for four hours.

Angola

Dos Santos Says UNITA 'Rigging' Elections

*MB0508112792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 5 Aug 92*

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has spoken of the need to establish a truly democratic regime in Angola. He was addressing thousands of Cuanza Sul residents at a mass rally in Sumbe yesterday.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] We favor the establishment of a democratic regime in Angola—a truly democratic regime where decisions will come from the people; where fundamental decisions will come from the popular masses. We have never believed in securing power through the force of arms. The arms of war must now be kept in the barracks; soldiers must be confined to the barracks. The people's weapon is the vote. Today we are ready for another challenge, the challenge of political confrontation. Let us therefore use the peaceful means of struggle. Once again I repeat: The vote is our principal weapon to enable us to punish those who act against our people's interests. [end recording]

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was not very happy with the behavior of soldiers of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], who instead of being confined to assembly points, continue to carry out undisciplined acts of intimidation against the people.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] We very saddened to note that some militarized forces continue to carry out undisciplined acts and use old tactics. Soldiers who were supposed to remain at assembly points and wait to be demobilized have received instructions to arrest and intimidate sympathizers belonging to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and other political parties. All these actions are aimed at spreading fear among the people and denying them their freedom of expression, thereby rigging the election results. [end recording]

The MPLA candidate to the September presidential elections took the opportunity to urge the people not to fail to register in the ongoing voter registration process, which has been extended until 10 August. In a campaign speech, Engineer Jose Eduardo dos Santos publicly asked the people to vote for the MPLA and for him in the September legislative and presidential elections.

CCPM Discusses Prisoners, Police Force

*MB0508054192 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] Senior officials of the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] met this morning to discuss the question of unaccounted for prisoners of war. At this afternoon's session, the government presented to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] a list of more than 4,000 names. Deputy Minister Antonio da Piedade Nando, the government's No. 2 man at the CCPM, has the details about today's meeting:

[Begin recording] [Nando] Our list includes 4,649 prisoners held by UNITA and who have not yet been handed over to us. It would take a long time to read all the names. The first lists given to UNITA dealt with prisoners of war who [words indistinct]. Lately, relatives have demanded the release of prisoners. This list includes such prisoners.

[Unidentified reporter] How long will the government take to review the list that UNITA has issued? The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] is worried with the delays surrounding the release of prisoners.

[Nando] Well, the Red Cross is right to be worried [words indistinct], but we want to issue a responsible statement. We have guaranteed that we are not holding any prisoners. We want to issue a convincing statement, giving details of who has been detained and released. Some of the people mentioned in the list have never been UNITA members.

[Reporter] How long will it take to review the list?

[Nando] At the 6 August meeting of the CCPM, we will submit yet another proposal on the release of prisoners of war.

[Reporter] What other issues were discussed at the meeting?

[Nando] The second point on the agenda dealt with the free movement of people and goods, including free political activities by either citizens or parties throughout the country. We have seen that there is no free political activity going on in areas previously controlled by UNITA, as well as in other areas.

The third point on the agenda dealt with the integration of UNITA elements into the police force. A (?selection) has just been completed at the Martires de Capolo Academy. A total of 145 candidates proposed by UNITA could not be enrolled because they lacked the qualifications to take the admission tests. Only 39 UNITA candidates have been accepted.

[Reporter] What has UNITA's reaction been?

[Nando] UNITA must accept the fact that those candidates failed their admission tests. [end recording]

Meanwhile, General Paulo Lukamba Gato, UNITA's No. 2 man in the CCPM, has confirmed the receipt of the government list. He said an answer will be given to government in less than 10 days.

[Begin recording] [Gato] We have just received the list. We will study it and will issue a statement within the next few days.

[Reporter] How long will it take?

[Gato] Not more than 10 days. [end recording]

*** Savimbi's Would-Be Assassin Interviewed**

92AF0992A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
4 Jul 92 p A 11

[Interview with Joao Jorge Frias Martinho, would-be assassin of Jonas Savimbi, by Joaquim Vieira; place and date not given]

[Text] The Portuguese national who claims he was hired to kill Jonas Savimbi has finally shown his "ID": His name is Joao Jorge Frias Martinho (not Jose Jorge, as EXPRESSO mistakenly referred to him two weeks ago while breaking the story). At 45, he is a self-declared PSD [Social Democratic Party] supporter, who, in addition to always having worked for espionage networks (or "intelligence" networks, in the euphemistic terms preferred by operatives), is a former player in the Benfica billiards division and a former Lisbon bar owner. He refuses, however, to show his face, claiming he would rather not be pointed out in the streets as a former MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] secret agent.

The name has been old news since Aldemiro da Conceicao, Angola's vice minister of information, assailed the man on Portuguese radio and television, confirming his past as an MPLA agent but claiming he had been dismissed for "black-mail" and "trafficking in information." In this interview, however, Jorge Martinho claims that he left Luanda by choice and never accepted a cent from UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] for exposing the alleged conspiracy to assassinate Savimbi. Between the lines, Martinho hints that he knows of other "dossiers" that would be very embarrassing to the government in Luanda. If untrue, this would at least be one way for him to ensure his immunity.

[Vieira] Did you really work in intelligence for the Group of Nine?

[Martinho] I would rather not answer. That has nothing to do with the topic at hand. I have always worked in situations that, in my view, were conducive to freedom, man's rights, and democracy.

[Vieira] Why, then, did you decide to go to work for the Luandan government?

[Martinho] There was a need to have someone in with the Luandan government.

[Vieira] On whose part?

[Martinho] Some forces.

[Vieira] Did you go in as a double agent?

[Martinho] No. I was nonpartisan in Luanda. I did not side with the MPLA nor with UNITA. Partisanship in the intelligence game always makes one tendentious.

[Vieira] But in effect you worked for the MPLA.

[Martinho] I worked for President Eduardo dos Santos. I was his security adviser from 1982 to 1987.

[Vieira] How did you end up over there?

[Martinho] It is a long story. Lieutenant Colonel Vasco Lourenco introduced me to the services. I prepared a few reports, and the president decided to get to know me better, on my word that I would work for him exclusively.

[Vieira] What sort of reports?

[Martinho] Analyses of the war's progress, of the relations among countries and international politics. I constantly harped on what the outcome of the situation would be. It was a no-win war that had to end as it did, with a peace treaty.

[Vieira] How was it that they picked you, a Portuguese national, for this kind of work?

[Martinho] They knew for certain that I had some technical knowledge and that I was able to get it down on paper. Maybe the president wanted someone who would tell him things honestly and who understood that to do one's job does not always mean to be pleasing.

[Vieira] What was the president's appraisal of your work?

[Martinho] It was such that I stayed on for five years and left on my own initiative.

[Vieira] Then you were not kicked out, as Altamiro da Conceicao claimed on Portuguese radio and TV?

[Martinho] No. I sort of left without the president's knowledge because I knew he would not want to let me go. He felt more and more dependent on me. Actually, Altamiro da Conceicao is a bit of a vice minister in disguise because he is really the head of the GAPI, the Enemy Propaganda Analysis Cabinet. He is a security agent.

[Vieira] Why did you leave?

[Martinho] I was tired. Toward the end of five years of intense living in Angola, all the while disagreeing with the Cuban and Soviet advisers' opinions, my image was starting to wear thin.

[Vieira] Did you think your work was pointless?

[Martinho] At the time, my work was going nowhere.

[Vieira] What were the differences you had with the Soviets and Cubans?

[Martinho] They were mainly differences of opinion over how to handle the dispute with UNITA, over how to conduct the war. The Cubans and Soviets were lord and masters over Angola and used the country as a major dumping ground for their obsolete weaponry.

[Vieira] Did you express these views to the president?

[Martinho] Yes, completely.

[Vieira] And did he accept them? Wasn't he suspicious of you?

[Martinho] There was nothing to suspect. I have a high regard for the man. I think he is very intelligent.

[Vieira] Do you think the Soviets and Cubans were controlling him?

[Martinho] At one point, yes, but he knew it. He also knew he would have to wait awhile to get out of that situation. For instance, when I contacted Dr. Wilson Santos in 1983 to leave UNITA, after he had agreed there was no way, politically, to place him in Angola.

[Vieira] Who else did you contact to come over to the MPLA?

[Martinho] Daniel Chipenda. It was my job to take him to the MPLA after contacting him here in Lisbon.

[Vieira] Did you come here regularly?

[Martinho] Yes. I contacted UNITA's Colonel Gato in Paris, but he refused the offer.

[Vieira] What did he say?

[Martinho] He just said no, that he was loyal to UNITA and would not leave.

[Vieira] Who else?

[Martinho] I won over a few UNITA dissidents, like Andre Yambayamba. I put together almost all of the Democratic Forum—all of them UNITA dissidents.

[Vieira] That took a lot of money. All those people had to be paid....

[Martinho] I made the contacts, got their assent, and then was out of the process.

[Vieira] So you were not the one making payment?

[Martinho] No.

[Vieira] But somebody did....

[Martinho] Sure. I went about the Service's diplomatic approach work so that another sector could take over the operation.

[Vieira] Was there also any "dirty work," such as kidnapping, intimidation, or violence?

[Martinho] No. It was understood that I was not the "dirty work" type. I really do not think that is intelligence work.

[Vieira] Who did the "dirty work"?

[Martinho] I would rather not discuss that for a very simple reason: Nobody ever talked to me about "dirty work."

[Vieira] Did you have contact with any services outside of Angola, like the Portuguese, for instance?

[Martinho] I am often asked if I was connected with Portuguese intelligence services. If I were, I obviously would not say so. I do not, however, have any contact with them.

[Vieira] What about the CIA? It has been said that you were a CIA man.

[Martinho] The vice minister said that. There is one thing I would like to say to the vice minister. I am surely not with the KGB. He may now think what he will.

[Vieira] Were you involved in any actions involving jailed Portuguese nationals while you were over there?

[Martinho] When I arrived over there, the routine practice, both in word and in deed, was "when in doubt, kill them." That was State Security Minister Ludy's catch phrase. He is the one who headed up the 27 May 1997 coup attempt. That is neither security nor intelligence work; it is what I call the choke-hold gang. Portuguese nationals were jailed in connection with "Case 105," which was a glaring demonstration of the security services' inability to hold sway over a single UNITA cell in Luanda during the war. At the time, the Portuguese were experiencing fierce persecution: They were mistreated; they died in jail. No one would listen to our ambassador. Alberto Franco, our consul-general, made trips to the Catete jail and was turned away. When I arrived and learned what was happening, the situation changed somewhat. Many Portuguese nationals got out of jail because of me.

[Vieira] What were those Portuguese citizens accused of?

[Martinho] Trafficking in diamonds. Some of them rightly so, I believe, but others not. State Security would lay the charges on the judge's desk and number the years for each one's jail term. If the judges objected, they would invoke the nation's vital interests. I informed the president of all of this.

[Vieira] After leaving, did you maintain any connection with intelligence work?

[Martinho] No. I had told the president to get in touch whenever he needed me. Every now and then, one confidential subject or another would come up, as in the case of Paulo Chipilica, for example, whom I contacted in 1989 or 1990. There, the services were unable to settle the issue. Behind this whole story was General Jose Maria.

[Vieira] Did you know him?

[Martinho] I knew him as a major in 1982.

[Vieira] How does he fit in?

[Martinho] Right now he is chief of the Angolan Secret Service. He started out in SIM [Military Information

Service] and later slipped some moles into Minse [Ministry of State Security] and managed to take hold of it.

[Vieira] How did he get up to that position?

[Martinho] Through Minse's own carelessness. In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Gen. Jose Maria was a seminary student and our commanding officer. He is an intelligent man.

[Vieira] Why are you going back to Angola?

[Martinho] Because an official with the intelligence service is coming....

[Vieira] Who is that?

[Martinho] A friend of mine. He is really not involved in this story, and I would rather not mention his name.

[Vieira] Was he at the Angolan Embassy in Portugal?

[Martinho] Yes. He was one of them. He said I should go back, that things were different now. I returned in February and went to Gen. Jose Maria's house. Much to my surprise, he gave me several dossiers so that I could bring myself up to date and make judgments.

[Vieira] This happened after how many days?

[Martinho] Two or three. Gen. Jose Maria's words were: "UNITA must be destroyed somehow, to keep it out of the elections." But of course I cannot prove that.

[Vieira] What did he want from you?

[Martinho] Later on I realized he was trying to set a trap for me. He apparently did not know much about me, or he would not have offered me that sort of mission. If he had offered me sensible missions....

[Vieira] But what sort of missions did he offer you?

[Martinho] Dirty work, such as sabotaging Savimbi's plane—things only a twisted mind would try. I told him that would be a blunder, that we were negotiating peace. The United Nations was there, and we were going to kill the man? After all these years at war, there would finally be a martyr. He said the chancelleries had already been contacted to set up the hit and that the whole thing would be made to look as though UNITA had done it. Then the dissidents would come out.

[Vieira] In any case, you did not refuse.

[Martinho] I could not, or I would not have gotten out. You have to say you are going to think it over.

[Vieira] Who had your passport?

[Martinho] I defy you to tell me how it came about that my Portuguese citizen's passport was taken from me in Saurimo and also why I was ordered held there as I was boarding a flight to Luanda.

[Vieira] What were you doing in Saurimo?

[Martinho] Because I stood out too much in Luanda. I was sent to Lunda to find out how UNITA was handling diamonds. At the same time, I was supposed to bring back a UNITA captain, someone named Pedrito, who was in Saurimo. I also went to Luena to see Savimbi's rally. There is no stopping it: UNITA is going to win the elections.

[Vieira] This is starting to sound like a political speech for UNITA.

[Martinho] No. It is a statement of fact. While working for President Eduardo dos Santos, I was always respected by UNITA, who saw me as a fair-minded adversary. I had already put down one assassination attempt on Savimbi on the Ivory Coast, back in 1983.

[Vieira] Is it true that you asked that Savimbi's plane be filmed 24 hours a day.

[Martinho] I had to gain time. I was hired to run the operation and was told about the project in broad outlines....

[Vieira] Was there a date set for the assassination?

[Martinho] No. The target was chosen, the means selected. After that, it was only a matter of time.

[Vieira] But I know you made equipment purchases running into millions of escudos before leaving for Angola. Were you not going to do some business?

[Martinho] No. Minse is going down the toilet, and the secret services back people who make the deals. They are the secret services' own companies.

[Vieira] What is the name of the company you were going to?

[Martinho] I would rather not go into that. The people in that company do not know what is going down.

[Vieira] Did you manage to talk to Gen. Jose Maria again?

[Martinho] Just that one time.

[Vieira] Was he in uniform or civilian garb?

[Martinho] In uniform. He is always in uniform. He tried to set me up in Saurimo. The idea was for me to return to Portugal and be listed as having disappeared.

[Vieira] So first he wanted to put you on a mission to do Savimbi in, and now he wants to do you in? How can that be?

[Martinho] The project expired with N'zau Puna coming over and with the unfolding of the case involving the house in Miramar. One of Eduardo dos Santos's cabinet officials defected to UNITA and said that a violent attack on Savimbi's home in Luanda was being planned.

[Vieira] Did the official's defection hamper the plan?

[Martinho] Of course, because some documents from the president's own cabinet disappeared.

[Vieira] And you then realized that something was going on?

[Martinho] As I was getting ready to return to Luanda, a Minse colonel told me that General Jose Maria had ordered me held out there in the province. I was shocked. I asked why I was under arrest. He said I was merely being held, that I would have to stay for a few days.

[Vieira] So then what did you do?

[Martinho] Gen. Jose Maria figured I would go running to UNITA, but he was wrong. I ran on ahead, to Luanda. I have friends who helped me get away.

[Vieira] How did you manage that?

[Martinho] I have been in these parts for years longer than Gen. Jose Maria. The stuff he is just now finding out is always old news to me. It took me three days to make it to Luanda.

[Vieira] By plane?

[Martinho] Yes, but that is another story. The place is a lot like a banana republic; nothing works right....

[Vieira] What did you do when you got to Luanda?

[Martinho] I went straight to the Portuguese Embassy.

[Vieira] Who did you talk to there?

[Martinho] The consul, who I did not know. One of our diplomats at the embassy, Jorge Goncalves, remembered me well from back around 1982-87. I told them what was happening and that I wanted to get back to Lisbon. They put me on a plane to Lisbon under the charge of a Portuguese diplomat.

[Vieira] How did you make it to the plane without risking capture?

[Martinho] I calmly went the normal way, under the diplomat's protection.

[Vieira] The vice minister has accused you of having received \$250,000 from UNITA for telling this story....

[Martinho] I would never accept UNITA's money, nor would UNITA have anything to do with me. I challenge the vice minister to prove where and how I received the \$250,000.

[Vieira] But it is true that you have had contacts with UNITA since leaving Luanda.

[Martinho] I have always maintained some contacts with UNITA. I have friends there.

[Vieira] Why did you decide to come forward with this story?

[Martinho] Everything I was trying to accomplish in Angola has been done. It was all done by the Portuguese Government through the Bicesse Accords.

[Vieira] But in principle, intelligence agents do not tell what they know....

[Martinho] One cannot abide these kinds of attempts to topple democracy, assassination attempts. That is not intelligence work, but rather, slaughterhouse work. I also want to show Gen. Jose Maria that I am still alive, that his plan backfired. In any case, there is going to be a big mess in Angola after the elections. We do not even know if we will even have elections. The situation is doubtful enough that Gen. Jose Maria keeps his children over here.

[Vieira] And what reasons do we have for believing that what you say is true?

[Martinho] Run it as fiction if you want to. You can be sure that where there is smoke, there is fire. I really was an important element within the MPLA. I am giving up some of my cover, so to speak, for a just cause. The Angolan people cannot possibly deserve any more of what they have just gone through. These are primitive, Stone-Age practices.

[Vieira] Is it true, though, that after all the dissension in UNITA, your case comes as a boon to the organization?

[Martinho] UNITA was not contacted for that. I have never had bosses in Angola. Everything came to me through the president's office. I have never had a boss named Erlinguer.

[Vieira] Who is Erlinguer?

[Martinho] Ask the Angolans. They know who he is.

[Vieira] CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission] has concluded that they have no evidence of any assassination attempt....

[Martinho] Obviously.

[Vieira] Do you feel safe? If all this is true, your life is in danger.

[Martinho] I am certain Gen. Jose Maria is not going to do anything.

Mozambique

Chissano, Dhlakama Hold 'Informal Meeting'

MB0508054292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Report from Teodosio Mbanze in Rome]

[Text] Good morning, Radio Mozambique listeners. The Rome marathon continues. Since I sent you my last report connected with the interview that Afonso Dhlakama gave to Mozambican journalists, unexpected

things have happened here in Rome. One of these things, and perhaps the most important, is that the members of the delegations led by President Joaquim Chissano, President Robert Mugabe, the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader, and [London-Rhodesia Company director] Tiny Rowland did not go to bed. The reason is simple: President Chissano, President Mugabe, the Renamo leader, and Tiny Rowland have been meeting since 0200 at the Grand Hotel, where the Zimbabwean head of state is staying. The so-called informal meeting is taking place!

You will recall that in my last report I told you that after the interview, the Renamo leader left the Forum Hotel for an informal meeting with President Chissano. The truth, however, is that Dhlakama left the hotel to meet with President Robert Mugabe, who had just arrived from London. President Chissano had already met with the Zimbabwean head of state as well as with the mediators in the Mozambican peace talks, which have been under way here in Rome for the past two years. It will be recalled that these mediators had dinner with Dhlakama the day before yesterday. As a result of these meetings the so-called informal meeting is now taking place. Journalists remain at the Grand Hotel where the meeting is taking place.

Meeting Concludes

MB0508061292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0503 GMT 5 Aug 92

[Report from Teodosio Mbanze in Rome]

[Text] The informal meeting between President Joaquim Chissano, President Robert Mugabe, the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader, and [London-Rhodesia Company director] Tiny Rowland ended at 0630. Asked by journalists to comment, Tiny Rowland said that the end of war in Mozambique is near. In turn, President Joaquim Chissano said he will comment at the appropriate time. President Robert Mugabe did not leave the room where the meeting took place, avoiding contact with journalists.

Afonso Dhlakama expressed optimism over the working meeting that will take place in Rome today. The meeting, which the mediators will attend, will take place this afternoon and not at 1100 as was previously scheduled, because Dhlakama, President Chissano, President Mugabe, and Tiny Rowland have not yet gone to bed. They have just left for their hotels to rest.

Renamo Leader Interviewed Prior to Meeting

MB0408200092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Report by Teodosio Mbanze in Rome]

[Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] President Afonso Dhlakama was interviewed today by Mozambican journalists in Rome. Regarding the size of

the Air Force and Navy, Dhlakama said that Renamo wants the Air Force to have 1,000 men, with 500 from the government forces and 500 from Renamo. The Navy should consist of 800 men, with 400 from the Mozambique Armed Forces and 400 from Renamo.

In the interview, the Renamo leader said that he had come to Rome not to agree on a truce, but to sign a peace accord. He said that it did not make sense to agree on a truce for a matter of days or weeks, and then reach a situation where the truce could be violated. He said a cease-fire ought to be discussed at tomorrow's meeting with President Chissano.

We now bring you an excerpt of the interview given by the Renamo leader.

[Begin recording] [Mbanze] I am Teodosio Mbanze of Radio Mozambique. Mr. President of Renamo, can you detail the guarantees that you are demanding from the Mozambican Government in order to reach a cease-fire?

[Dhlakama] Well, it is not a question of guarantees. What Renamo wants are democratic principles, because this is a political struggle that started after independence when the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] government declared Mozambique a Marxist state. So Mozambicans rebelled, and took up arms to fight the regime. We are now involved in negotiations that have been dragging on for quite some time without achieving positive results. So in my capacity as president of Renamo, an opposition force searching for peace, I personally tried to convince our brother President Chissano to talk to me so that we could try to achieve peace. The peace we are looking for includes democracy, freedom, and justice. It is not a question of [passage indistinct].

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President Afonso Dhlakama [words indistinct]. This evening you will hold your first informal meeting with President Chissano. Tomorrow you will discuss issues likely to silence arms [words indistinct].

[Dhlakama] Well, to start with there is a political struggle. We have signed protocols [words indistinct], but those protocols are not [words indistinct]. There is a government constitution. We think that it is a Frelimo constitution because it was drafted by Frelimo, defends Frelimo, and has not yet opened the way for the multi-party system we have been defending. So one of the things I am going to demand from President Chissano is that he should understand that democracy is only possible in Mozambique once all undemocratic laws established in the Constitution are abolished. Those are the principles which I will try to make President Chissano understand. I will try to make President Chissano understand that he should accept that, once a cease-fire is in place, any undemocratic laws established in the Constitution should not be applied; otherwise, they might even destroy the contents of all the protocols that have been signed in Rome. [end recording]

That was an excerpt of the interview that the Renamo leader gave to Mozambican journalists in Rome this evening. After the interview, the Renamo leader left the Forum Hotel for an informal meeting with President Chissano and the mediators.

Discusses Role of African Countries

MB0408180892 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 1600 GMT 4 Aug 92

["Final part" of news conference by Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, with unidentified reporters; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] What has been Mr. Mugabe's attitude since your meeting with him in Gaborone on 4 July 1992, considering that he has troops in Mozambique [words indistinct] and the Dhlakama-Chissano meeting?

[Dhlakama] I think that President Mugabe has already realized that he has lost the war in Mozambique. He is shouldering the responsibility and is showing a degree of flexibility. He was the one who conveyed my message about the upcoming summit. I told Mugabe that the ball was in his court, and that he should bring peace to Mozambique because as long as Zimbabwean troops continue to kill Mozambicans, Chissano feels that he can protract the war because those troops will defend his regime. So I told Mugabe he should inform Chissano that we want peace in Mozambique. I even told President Mugabe if he does not want peace, then he should bear the burden. The proof that Mugabe wants to be flexible is that he has succeeded in convincing Chissano to take part in the summit. Yet we cannot be optimistic because ideologically Mugabe is a Marxist, and as such he is friends with Chissano.

[Reporter] What will your frame of mind be when you go to Rome?

[Dhlakama] Well, I want peace in Mozambique. I do not want peace for the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], but for all 15 million Mozambicans. For me peace is not only a question of laying down arms. We want peace with democracy, freedom, justice, and respect for human rights. So that is the peace that the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] ought to give. Frelimo ought to accept that these principles are the only ones which one can identify with democracy. So I am not going to demand a great deal from Chissano. I will demand peace with democracy and freedom.

[Reporter] Mr. President, do you not think that the presence of African countries at the ongoing negotiations could serve to promote peace in Mozambique?

[Dhlakama] You have touched on a sore spot. Three African countries will take part in the summit as observers: Botswana, Nigeria, and Senegal. Afterward, Nigeria and Senegal will be official observers for the rest of the Rome negotiating process.

[Reporter] How did the mediators react to that?

[Dhlakama] Well, they accepted it because we told them that Africans should participate in an African affair. Mozambique is in Africa, so Africans ought to follow the events—not just Europeans. We are not racists, but we believe that Africans should be in Rome so that they can feel that we are black men, Africans, who are being killed in Mozambique. I would like to stress that we are not racists, but this is a very important matter. Had this dispute been a European matter, it would be difficult... [pauses] Let us assume that war breaks out in Portugal. I am absolutely certain that white Portuguese would not accept Africans mediating in a Portuguese problem. So, it would be rather strange for us to accept that only Europeans should be in Rome. It would be tantamount to a colonial situation. That is how Africans feel. They resent being left out.

So, we think that it is a honor that the Rome summit will be attended by those three African countries. In fact, they could give it a push because it is Africans killing each other.

Italian Mediator Interviewed Prior to Meeting

MB0408190092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Interview with Mario Raffaelli, Italian Foreign Minister, official and mediator at the Rome peace talks, by Teodosio Mbanze in Rome on 4 August—recorded]

[Text] [Mbanze] Dr. Mario Raffaelli, I would like to know what arrangements have been made for tomorrow's summit meeting between President Chissano and Dhlakama, considering that it is only 24 hours before that great, historic event.

[Raffaelli] There have been a number of initiatives. I have spoken to Dhlakama. Now we will talk to President Chissano. President Mugabe is scheduled to arrive shortly. I do not think it is possible to elaborate further at this stage. Formal meetings will be arranged to organize the summit. We can add that the meeting will formally open tomorrow.

[Mbanze] Now that President Chissano has agreed to give the guarantees demanded by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader, and keeping in mind that last night you dined with the Renamo leader, do you think there will be any difficulties at the summit meeting? Are you optimistic about the summit?

[Raffaelli] Obviously, there could be difficulties. I think that in view of President Chissano's flexibility in accepting this meeting and his statement that he is willing to meet Renamo's demands for guarantees, he has helped things a lot. Moreover, Renamo President Dhlakama is aware that time is running out for peace to be achieved for the good of all the Mozambican people, and not only the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and Renamo.

[Mbanze] Apparently, there is an overlapping of mediators. Specifically, you represent the mediators at the talks that have been going on for two years. President Mugabe has now emerged as what I could describe as the promoter of the summit. What are the specific roles of the mediators and President Robert Mugabe?

[Raffaelli] Well, that is an initiative of President Mugabe. It is an African initiative that fits within the framework of the mediation. Obviously, as one says in Portuguese, there is no conflict of interest. The two issues can go hand in hand. The mediators will support the summit. If the outcome of the summit between the two presidents is positive, then it will be a question of translating it into practice within the framework of the peace process.

[Mbanze] It has been reported that the two delegations that have been in Rome for two years now, have already agreed on the size of the future national army. Would you like to elaborate?

[Raffaelli] What I can say is that the initial figure has been greatly reduced. That is fine because it will result in a small army. A country in peace [words indistinct].

[Mbanze] Have the two sides reached a consensus on that figure?

[Raffaelli] The two sides have reached a consensus about the reduction of the figure. There has been no consensus on the final figure. That is still an outstanding issue.

[Mbanze] Should the summit between President Chissano and the Renamo leader fail, will the Rome talks be in jeopardy?

[Raffaelli] Obviously, that will not be good. I hope that the summit does not fail. [laughs]

[Mbanze] But do you think that the talks will be adjourned should that happen?

[Raffaelli] I cannot say that at this stage. The meeting should be used to resolve problems.

[Mbanze] So, you mean that you are very optimistic about the meeting?

[Raffaelli] You know, in view of this job that I have been doing for quite some time now, my attitude is that it is not appropriate for me to be either optimistic or pessimistic. What is necessary is to (carry on working). As for the rest [words indistinct].

* Effect of Drought on Limpopo Valley Described

92AF0995A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
14 Jun 92 pp 22-30

[Article by Inacio Laissone: "The Shrinking of the Giant"]

[Text] The country's so-called "breadbasket," up in the lands of the Limpopo Valley, has ceased to exist. Due to

the drought, several agro-industrial units in the regions of Chokwe, Aldeia da Barragem, and others find their projects compromised. Some of them are empowering the local inhabitants with the means that will make it possible for them to lessen the disastrous effects of this drought that is devastating all of southern Africa. Such is the case, for example, of the multinational company Lomaco [Agro-Industrial Company], which lately has been betting on assistance to the people without, however, losing sight of its original calling.

It was in the early morning hours of this past 27 May when, after completing the formalities of protocol at Maputo International Airport, we boarded a small plane and headed for the lands of the Limpopo Valley, specifically the regions of Chokwe and Aldeia da Barragem. The initial purpose of the trip was to see at close hand the drama of the local people, which is the result of the disastrous effects of the war and the drought, as well as to understand the efforts that some production units have been making to assist the people.

This was one more charter flight by the Lomaco, a joint venture resulting from the agreements established between the English multinational company Lonrho and the Mozambican government, which, since 1986 and in the midst of conflicts, has been putting extensive parcels of land to use in the regions of Chokwe in Gaza, Umbeluzi in Maputo, Mituchira in Sofala, Montepuez in Cabo Delgado, and others.

Even in mid-flight, we were able to confirm some adverse realities: On the one hand, we seemed to be flying over a desert because everything that used to give a lush, green look to the valley of the great Limpopo is drying up. On the other hand, the vengeance of "offended" nature offered us fascinating views of extensive narrow ribbons that revealed where, under other circumstances, the wide riverbeds either of the Limpopo River or its tributaries used to be.

After almost 30 minutes flying over the lands of Maputo and Gaza, we touched down at the airport in the City of Chokwe. The first thing that we saw was a dried-up landscape with its land cracked open, its vegetation withering, and immense clouds of dust. A group of bystanders, mostly children, ran to meet us when the airplane landed and exchanged impressions with us. The oldest one in the group, babbling something in his native language, said that, in addition to the war, their parents talk very often about the existence of a serious food crisis arising from the drought that is devastating this region.

From the airport in the City of Chokwe, we headed for the locality of Chilembene, and for about 15 minutes we flew over the extensive landholdings that belong to the various productive units of the State, private, cooperative, and family sectors that are established in that district and its environs. These are landholdings that have now apparently been abandoned due to the combined effects of the war and the drought.

"That group of thatched huts that you see over there belongs to the family of President Machel, and our tomato processing unit is locating on the other side," said Nyeleti Mondlane, indicating that we were approaching the lands of Chilembene. Mondlane, who traveled with us, is head of Lomaco's public relations department.

Once we reached that locality and had been provided with a vehicle for our transportation, we spent most of our time traveling over the Agro-Industrial Company's fields, in which this multinational has been carrying out its various projects. "In the present agricultural campaign, we have not produced anything here in Chilembene." This was the voice of Nyeleti Mondlane, ironically referring to the meager production of cotton that is being forecast for this harvest.

In Chilembene and other places, people are living between two extreme realities. Either the violence of the war does not allow the people to work, or, if there is some tranquillity and people can devote themselves to cultivating the land, heaven does not send them any rain. Even so, and for someone who is traveling to that locality for the first time, one suddenly comes across great tracts of land that have a dark green color. These are the fields of corn and cotton that, due to the scanty precipitation, have not grown satisfactorily.

During the present agricultural campaign in Chilembene, Lomaco has planted a little more than 102 hectares of cotton out of a total of 300 originally planned, 57 hectares of corn, and eight hectares of butter beans.

Recalling cotton production in previous agricultural campaigns, and due to the fact that this agro-industrial unit introduced cotton production to Chilembene in 1989, the company's project supervisor in that town, Hilario Macuacua, summarizes the current situation in six words: "It has been a total failure." Normally, this company would produce a yield of nearly 3.5 tons of cotton per hectare. But in the present campaign, that figure is in serious jeopardy, and it is now predicted that they will harvest just 1.8 tons per hectare in the nearly 102 hectares mentioned above.

The peasants are constantly on the lookout for rain, and since it does not materialize, most of them opt to look for employment in the production units set up in Chilembene. Lomaco's projects are being carried out by 350 full-time workers and by a few more than 160 part-timers, most of whom are female. It is a traditional question, because the fact is that women normally devote themselves to working in the fields, while the men head down the road to the Rand mines. The few who survive the working conditions down there fall victim to kidnappings by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] to fill out their ranks.

Feeding the Workers

Life's hardships in Chilembene and other places are tending to get worse. Facing this agony, optimism is

replaced first by desperation, then by deep disillusionment. The fact is that it has not rained for quite a long time, and, as the residents of Chilembene say, lately the sun has turned into a maniac, intent on burning everything in sight.

It is a worrisome situation because the effects of this calamity are mounting up before everyone's eyes. Governmental entities, production units, and the people in general are aware of the danger that is approaching, and Lomaco, while not neglecting its original calling, is betting on enhancing human resources, whether it is through offering elementary courses in agriculture, a task that is being carried out jointly with rural extension agents, or through making material resources available to lessen the effects of the drought.

This is a matter of training the peasants so that they can increase their odds for survival through their own efforts, because, as Nyeleti Mondlane said, "We cannot perpetuate hunger." In the areas that are under the jurisdiction of this agro-industrial unit, the people, particularly those who work for this company, are satisfied.

In Chilembene, due to the fact that some projects are seriously compromised, the process of parceling out land in order to then distribute it to the peasants and to that township's political and administrative structures is now under way. According to Hilario Macuacua, this is a matter of salt-bearing lands that may be useful to the peasants in the future. This agro-industrial unit is likewise providing incentives for the production of corn and butter beans to supply its workers.

As we have already said, during the present agricultural campaign, the company has planted 57 hectares of corn and eight of butter beans to feed its workforce because, as a source with connections to the multinational company stated, "It is more expensive to import food from abroad than to produce it locally." Hilario Macuacua stressed that the productivity of these landholdings is due to continual irrigation.

Twenty-three tons of corn have already been harvested from nine hectares of the land designated for that crop, with the hope that the remaining tons will be harvested soon. Lomaco's project supervisor in Chilembene said that the corn will be sold to the workers at a subsidized price. This company and some others have been making other basic necessities, such as sugar, rice, soap, oil, and other products, available to its work force.

The Dwindling of the Waters

In some areas of the Province of Gaza that lie adjacent to the Limpopo River, the river's flow has practically dried up, and the people are facing a severe water shortage, both of drinking water and water for cooking, which they get only through tremendous sacrifice. The Limpopo River has been reduced to a trickle along most of the stretch that lies between Aldeia da Barragem and Chilembene. In some areas, the riverbed has dried up completely.

This is the dramatic but true portrait of the effects of the drought in that region. But an even more dramatic situation can be seen in the lower region of Chilembene, where, from a width of more than 500 meters, the Limpopo's riverbed has been reduced to about 15 meters, and the river is no more than one and a half meters deep at its deepest point. This is an area often frequented by local people and cattle.

The canals that used to carry water by gravity to the fields and to distant villages for human consumption have almost all dried up. Water for human consumption and to irrigate the collective farms is being pumped by Lomaco. Two electric pumps that pump water from the river to the canals have been set up next to the river for that purpose.

According to Lomaco's project supervisor in Chilembene, everything is being done in the spirit of solidarity because in reality, the operation is quite costly. In order to illustrate the high cost of pumping, he stressed the fact that the two electric pumps were rented from another company and that each of them consumes 60 liters of fuel per day. Another machine is needed to pump the water from the canals so that it will reach the fields and the villages. Here they have fallen back on using a tractor, which likewise burns many liters of fuel.

It is within this complex reality and with the goal of lessening the effects of the drought that many production units located in Chokwe, Chilembene, Aldeia da Barragem, and other regions in the Province of Gaza are throwing themselves into the gargantuan task of producing food and providing something to drink for the people whose lives are seriously threatened by starvation. As Hilario Macuacua said, the inability of companies to maintain their workforce or to produce food results in a breakdown for the people because they do not have the financial means to acquire basic products through normal trade. The only things that they have left, then, are desperation and dependency on foreign aid.

An Attack on Public Health

The water that is still flowing in the bed of the Limpopo River is unfit for human consumption. In spite of all the filth that is dumped into it, that water is used for bathing, for washing clothes, for human consumption, and for cooking. The same water is further stirred up by cattle that go there to slake their thirst. This is an assault on the health of those who drink it.

On the morning of this past 27 May, we witnessed a spectacular event in the Chilembene Valley. In a never-ending coming and going, groups of women and children clustered in the shallow riverbed, each one doing everything imaginable, from bathing to washing clothes to getting water for household consumption. And diarrheic diseases are rampant there due to the fact that the population concentration in that village is high, which aggravates the water shortage and consequently makes hygienic conditions worse.

Furthermore, the health authorities stated that at least 13 people have already died from cholera, with more than 800 cases reported in the various hospital units in Chokwe and its environs. This is a disease that is difficult to control, and there is information indicating that this epidemic is spreading to the districts surrounding Chokwe.

The War Drags On

Another factor, one that people consider to be "the other side of the same coin," is the war, which has been creating victims and damaging this territory for more than a decade and a half. In Chokwe, Chilembene, Aldeia da Barragem, and other regions that lie adjacent to the Limpopo River and that are suffering from its drying up, Renamo has been intensifying its raids into the villages, either looting people's possessions or destroying the infrastructures of the production units that are set up there.

Lomaco has at its disposal a militia force trained to protect its projects. This militia force is commanded by an official who is of Nepalese nationality. According to Nyeleti Mondlane, the existence of this force is known by the Office for the Protection of Economic Projects within the Ministry of National Defense, with which it has been coordinating all actions aimed at defending these areas.

"This is not a question of a special army, as some entities have been interpreting it," said Nyeleti Mondlane. Even with the existence of this militia group, Renamo has been "visiting" the Lomaco projects, and there have often been closely contested confrontations. In the area of Macarretane, in the environs of Aldeia da Barragem, a locale where cotton is produced and also where a reforestation program is under way, Renamo killed 15 militia soldiers and destroyed Lomaco's machinery and infrastructures in June of 1989.

The magnitude of the combined effects of the war and the drought in the areas of Chilembene, Chokwe, Aldeia da Barragem, and, in a general way, in the whole Limpopo Valley region, is at this moment devastating. The complete lack of food and the consequent malnutrition, both in adults and in children, as well as in cattle, are readily apparent. Government authorities and some companies are evaluating the people's precarious condition in order to launch efforts aimed at finding alternative ways to aid the victims of these disasters.

Living Amid Conflicts

The Agro-Industrial Company—Lomaco—is the first Mozambican joint venture established within the scope of the Economic Rehabilitation Program (PRE). With \$40 million of mixed capital, this company has set up various agricultural projects in the country—including the production of cotton, tomatoes, citrus fruits, cereals, and vegetables in the areas of Chilembene, Macarretane, Pequenos Libombos, Umbeluzi, Mituchira, and Montepuez.

However, a number of rumors have been circulating from one end of the country to the other concerning this agro-industrial company's projects—that they usurp extensive lands from the peasants, that they force them to raise cotton, that they have replaced the former farm owners as the dominant force, that they have a private army....

For Nyeleti Mondlane, all this furor over Lomaco's activities is nothing but a well-orchestrated maneuver aimed at denigrating the image of a multinational company that has contributed so much toward this country's economic progress. She added that all the lands that are under this company's jurisdiction were the subject of negotiations and agreements between Lomaco and the Mozambican government through the Ministry of Agriculture.

These are extensive lands, which, for the most part, belonged to State-run companies that, under the impetus of the country's new economic reality formulated by the PRE, were going into bankruptcy. In addition to supplying the national market, Lomaco's products are exported to some European countries, and Swaziland and South Africa are its potential customers in southern Africa.

A Tough Case

Lomaco employs slightly more than 12,000 workers. Since 1986, at the time that it was established in Chilembene, this company has been proving itself by producing tomatoes, both for local consumption and for the

international market. At the same time, a tomato processing unit was set up with an installed capacity of 150 tons per day.

Operating with slightly more than 100 workers, the factory processed tomatoes for the German Democratic Republic (GDR). However, with the reunification of the two Germanys, the company was dealt a severe blow, and everything became complicated. The company lost its buyer, and, as a result, slightly more than 900 tons of canned tomatoes have no market.

At this moment, Lomaco is no longer producing tomatoes in Chilembene, and its board of directors is determined to promote this product internationally in order to attract a market. Halting tomato production has had negative repercussions for more than just the company. The workforce that was struggling for a living by producing and processing tomatoes now finds itself out of work. Hilario Macuacua said that with the halt in tomato production, 20 workers were let go this past March.

In spite of the effects of the war and the drought, Lomaco is producing cotton. In Macarretane, nearly 2,000 hectares have been planted, and it is predicted that 2.5 tons of cotton per hectare will be harvested. This crop has grown well due to the irrigation that has been done every six days. But the greatest worry of the company's board of directors is the excessive bureaucracy that exists in the various organizations at the central level, as Nyeleti Mondlane stated. She went on to add that in this country, investing in agriculture is a high-risk act.

Benin

Mutiny Reportedly 'Over,' Tawes, Followers Flee

AB0408210592 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Text] The mutiny at Natitingou is over. Captain Pascal Tawes and a handful of followers fled today. The adventure therefore lasted only 72 hours. Loyal forces have taken control of the town and the camp, which Tawes and his men abandoned for an unknown destination. With the story on the situation, Raphael Akoumi of the BENIN PRESS AGENCY reports from Natitingou:

[Begin recording] At the Natitingou Kaba Camp, developments moved very fast. Capt. Tawes and his handful of followers fled early this afternoon. This morning, no one has seen Capt. Pascal Tawes and (Raymond Nawa Saki), camp bosses since 2 August. Also this morning, Tawes' followers refused to allow soldiers who spent last night outside the garrison to enter the camp. They are considered traitors. These traitors, quote unquote, were compelled to become bush fighters yesterday. Now that the situation has changed, yesterday's bush fighters became the bosses of the area this afternoon. Tawes' men left behind ammunition and some weapons—including AKM's, rocket launchers, and heavy tanks—at the weapons store. One might believe that, apparently, they carried nothing away. But we may have to wait until tomorrow before we are able to say this with any degree of certainty.

The force dispatched to the area by the Cotonou authorities has surrounded the Kaba Camp. At the moment, the direction taken by the captain and his last batch of an estimated 20 men is unknown. [end recording]

Soglo Independence Anniversary Address

AB0508135092 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT
31 Jul 92

[Address by President Nicephore Soglo in Cotonou on 31 July—live or recorded]

[Text] My dear Beninese, fellow countrymen and women, tomorrow, 1 August, we will celebrate together our national day. I would like to take this opportunity to review with you the essential stages of our march toward the construction of a new Benin. A year ago, I presented to the nation my first government, to which I assigned three main objectives, namely: to consolidate the construction of a state where there is the rule of law; to accelerate the recovery of the national economy; and to strengthen social coherence. Today, looking back together on the path covered which, in contrast with the recent past when liberties were denied, when dictatorship and monolithic policies prevailed, our people, since the historic national conference, demonstrated their firm desire to ensure that our country is truly one that

respects the rule of law. It was the first successful experience on the African continent when we moved peacefully from totalitarianism to democracy.

Thus, this impetus of renewal which Beninese have been enjoying since then has enabled them to lay the legal bases for the institutions provided for in the Constitution, in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. Now that the Parliament, with a stable and coherent majority, has voted the organic laws concerning the Constitutional Court, the Economic and Social Council, and the High Media Authority, the government will make it a point to set up these new institutions, and will gradually give them the means to assume their constitutional duties. We can legitimately congratulate ourselves, in this fast changing world, on our patient and methodical approach which has helped us make progress toward establishing a state where the rule of law prevails. This is the most eloquent demonstration of the seriousness and maturity of our people and it has generated almost everywhere respect and [words indistinct].

This huge national task we are carrying out has witnessed some shortcomings. The difficulties encountered in Africa and elsewhere in the implementation of the democratic process demand from us not only more patience and tolerance, but also more determination and vigilance. That is why I would like to urge all the active forces of the nation, especially political parties, which are the major forces of the national political scene, trade unions, religious and philosophical bodies, development associations, women, the youth, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, soldiers, farmers, traders, students, artists, and the media to work doggedly and patriotically to inculcate within the people the conviction that our democracy is (?alive), that it is in the learning process, which is long and difficult and strewn with pitfalls and sacrifices, but that it remains the prerequisite to any lasting economic development.

Fellow Beninese, in spite of the progress made in 1991, some structural and even natural obstacles to our economic growth like the drought still abound. In fact, one cannot erase 15 years of waste and negligence with a magic wand. The economic and financial performance obtained during the first six months of this year remains precarious. That is why the orientations of the economic policies contained in the 1992 budget which our National Assembly has just voted, demonstrate our desire to pursue and accelerate the implementation of the structural reforms while at the same time maintaining a cautious macroeconomic policy. Thus, the economic objectives mapped out were aimed at raising the economic growth rate above that of population growth, to contain the evolution and deficit of the balance of payments, and to protect the vulnerable social groups in the short term, through the urgent and necessary restructuring of our poor economy.

Thus, efforts will be continued for the implementation of these reforms, for the improvement of public finances, and the consolidation of the financial system. As part of

the efforts to streamline the economic environment and banking system, the ongoing debt recovery exercise could be pursued by adjusting the level of turnover of purged enterprises to that of debt-servicing economically [words indistinct] for the activities of credible debtors. Also, part of the loans recovered from debtors of the liquidated banks will soon be distributed to the creditors of the Beninese Commercial Bank on the basis of the pro rata of their blocked amounts, up to the level of 10 percent. This will help inject a little more than 5 billion CFA francs back into the economy. The government gives priority to sectorial activities that help increase both national production and exports.

Other elements of economic revival such as improvement in the quality of performance of the civil service, the increase in the efficiency of capital expenses, regularity in the payment of salaries, and the partial discharge of arrears in salaries owed to civil servants, and the continued unfreezing of banking accounts are contained in the budget of the 1992 fiscal year. All these measures will enable us to obtain the projected total growth rate for this year from agriculture, services, and small industries. However, it is still necessary to recall today that the task of development is one of patience, and that in spite of efforts made and difficulties encountered, the present state of our economy cannot be improved for a lasting period without subregional economic cooperation. After what I said in Abuja and at the last Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] summit held in Dakar, I once again advocate the rapid construction in West Africa of ECOWAS in order to offer our farmers, our stock breeders, fishermen, traders, and industrialists a concerted integration policy likely to improve the economic efficiency of our productive systems.

Dear countrymen, as I was saying a while ago, there can only be lasting economic growth when there is social justice which demands that we share the fruits of our efforts. Therefore, with the consent of our development partners, the 1992 budget which has just been approved by the National Assembly largely takes into account the management of solidarity programs. Thus, the sum of 1 billion CFA francs has been earmarked to enable young unemployed graduates, people laid off by the liquidated enterprises, and unemployed youths to enter social life. The sum of 800 million CFA francs has been earmarked for the partial settlement of salary arrears. The sum of 2.4 billion CFA francs has been disbursed to pay two months of salary arrears owed since 1988. Another sum of 2.4 billion CFA francs has been allotted for the payment of workers (on retirement) since 1986. In all, a total amount of 23 billion CFA francs will be earmarked for the management of a solidarity fund out of a total recurrent budget of about 60 billion CFA francs. This is a powerful catalyst for the revival of our economy. Of course, in the face of the immensity of the disaster and our needs, this amount appears to be inadequate, but it is the outcome of strenuous work, and if we can produce more we can share out more.

Instructions have been given to the minister of energy, mines, and water resources for the Beninese Electricity Company to reduce the hourly rate per kilowatt in order to alleviate the burden of consumers beginning from 1 November. I also take the opportunity during our National Day celebrations to halve the jail terms of people imprisoned since 1 August 1991, the list of which will be published by decree.

Fellow Beninese and dear countrymen, it is on a call of hard work and professional devotion for the pursuit of national reconstruction that I would like to end my address. I wish you a happy celebration.

Long live the Republic.

Long live a renewed Benin.

Soglo Meets French Adviser, Togolese Premier

*AB0508105592 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT
2 Aug 92*

[Excerpt] Mr. Bruno Delai, President Mitterrand's adviser for African and Malagasy affairs, and Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, the Togolese prime minister, returned to their respective countries today after taking part in the festivities marking Benin's national day. Mr. Bruno Delai and Joseph Kokou Koffigoh held discussions this morning with the head of state, President Nicephore Soglo. Mr. Soglo's discussions with President Francois Mitterrand's adviser were mainly on Franco-Beninese and subregional cooperation following President Soglo's election as chairman of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS], and on preparations for the next Franco-African summit scheduled to take place in Libreville, Gabon. The French adviser spoke to Celestin Mara:

[Begin recording] [Delai] I reviewed Franco-Beninese cooperation, which is doing well, with the head of state. It is developing harmoniously under the auspices of a new ambassador—Mr. (Tani)—who has just arrived. We also made a general review of African issues, especially following President Soglo's election as ECOWAS chairman. We also spoke about the next summit between African heads of state and the president of the French Republic in Libreville in early October. We must also make preparations for this summit.

[Mara] Mr. Adviser, we remember the role you played in Togo notably, at the time when the Togolese prime minister's office was invaded by soldiers. You played an important role and yet that country continues to be torn apart. Do you not fear another upheaval, considering what is currently happening in Togo?

[Delai] Well, concerning that issue, kindly allow me to do something I hate to do. I am sorry I cannot answer you because it is not polite to make comments on the situation in a country from another neighboring country. I therefore cannot answer your question.

[Mara] What does French cooperation have in store for Africa now, and finally, do you not believe that the level of this cooperation will decrease, in relation to the demands of your country?

[Delai] The fact that we made another step forward toward European unity with Maastricht is, in my opinion, a great advantage for Africa. It is to Africa's advantage because it will enable all countries which do not have traditionally strong relations with Africa to be interested in the African Continent. [end recording]

Africa was at the center of discussions between the president of the Republic and Togolese Prime Minister Koffigoh who also spoke to Celestin Mara:

[Begin recording] [Koffigoh] President Soglo usually says there is no Beninese who does not somehow feel as a Togolese and there is no Togolese who does not somehow feel he is Beninese. Of course, we held discussions on the situation in Togo and the contributions that President Soglo and some of his peers in the subregion could make toward the consensus that Togolese themselves first have the responsibility to restore.

[Mara] The Togolese crisis is of concern to the whole of Africa, beginning certainly with Benin which is Togo's neighbor. Mr. Prime Minister, is this crisis due to the fact that the country's institutions are playing different roles other than those assigned them?

[Koffigoh] I believe you are right, because if these institutions play different roles other than those assigned to them, there can never be harmony. We must therefore make people understand democracy better. The musical notes may be different but for harmony, we need to put the notes together. That is why we have always supported consultation and dialogue in order to harmonize our viewpoints. We are trying to do this at the internal level, but we say to our external friends—whether Africans or from elsewhere, but especially Africans—that when a fire begins somewhere, we should try to put it out immediately as it would take only a glass of water or a calabash full of water to put out a small fire. However, if we wait until the whole of Togo is ablaze, then we will be forced to call for the help of the fire department. Already, we are all finding it difficult to play the fireman in Liberia. We have not yet found any solution to the conflict there. If you want to wait to play the fire brigade in Togo, then you will be overwhelmed. [end recording]

[Lome Radio Lome in French at 1900 GMT on 2 August, in a report on the Togolese prime minister's visit to Benin adds the following: "Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh had several contacts with Beninese political authorities this morning and yesterday afternoon. Mr. Koffigoh is currently holding private discussions at the Presidential Palace, La Marina, with the Beninese head of state, Mr. Nicéphore Soglo.

["The recent events in our country and the preparations for the upcoming elections are certainly on the agenda

for discussions between President Soglo and Prime Minister Koffigoh. The current sociopolitical situation in Togo and its solutions dominated the discussions yesterday between the Togolese prime minister and the former Beninese president, Emile Berlin Zinsou, at the PLM Aledjo Hotel, and the president of the Beninese Constitutional Court, Monsignor Isidore de Souza, at the archbishop's palace in Cotonou. Monsignor de Souza called on the Togolese to be coolheaded and to refrain from meeting violence with violence. He said the essential thing would be for Togolese to master their passions and to have confidence in the strategies in force, namely leading the country through a successful democratic process. With former President Zinsou, the prime minister said he reviewed current African issues, specifically problems concerning the Francophone area. The Togolese prime minister also paid a visit this morning to the former Beninese president, Hubert Maga, at his private residence in Cotonou."]

Ghana

ADF Sponsors National Conference of Parties

AB0408195092 Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC
in English 1 Aug 92 p 1, 8-9

[Article by Joe Okyere and Kobby Asmah: "ADF-Sponsored National Conference Starts Today"]

[Text] The Alliance of Democratic Forces of Ghana (ADF), composed of a number of political parties and organizations, has decided to sponsor a week-long National Conference of all political parties starting from today, August 1.

The Conference, expected to end on Friday, August 7, will serve as a forum for the discussion of problems associated with the process towards constitutional rule to ensure that it is free of violence and intimidation.

Mr. A.K. Gbedema, chairman of the ADF, made these known at a press conference held at the Ringway Hotel in Accra yesterday.

He said as from today, two commissions will begin sitting. They are the Commission on Transitional Government and the Commission on Measures to Ensure Free and Fair Elections.

Mr. Gbedema explained that the Commission on Transitional Government will deal with the fate of the paramilitary organs of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] and the granting of unconditional amnesty to all political detainees and prisoners.

Additionally, he said, the second commission will also look at the issues of re-registration of voters, reviewing of existing laws to ensure their harmonization with the 1992 Constitution as well as equal access to the electronic and print media by all political contestants.

Mr. Gbedema said the ADF is proceeding with the conference with the conviction that through healthy discussion and debate, a national consensus, which takes cognizance of the concerns and fears of all sections of the Ghanaian population, would emerge.

He also said that the ADF believes that the PNDC would pay due attention to the concerns that would be expressed and even take part in the deliberations.

Giving justification for the path chosen by the ADF to proceed with the conference, Mr. Gbedema said in the past months several demands have been made by various political groups and other organizations for the repeal of all obnoxious laws, and compilation of a new voters' register.

He said, however, that all their demands have not been met, but meanwhile a very unsatisfactory and really questionable action has been taken to clean the existing bogus register in two weeks, as if a dubious act could produce the sort of register that can be said to be good, acceptable and reliable worthy of the 35 years of our nationhood and of the Fourth Republic that we are entering.

"The proffered arguments that a new register will cost too much and take some six or nine months are puerile and absolutely untenable", Mr. Gbedema said, stressing that "having lived under Rawlings' rule for 11 years, the nation should be prepared to wait for some six months or more under an arrangement that is fair and acceptable to ensure that the voters' register is of the right quality."

Answering a question as to whether the ADF has made attempts to involve the PNDC in the proposed conference, Mr. Gbedema said that the attitude of the government has been one of contempt.

He said "it is only now we hope that they will treat us with better respect than before."

Asked what the ADF will do if the government refuses to heed their demand, Alhaji Mohammed Farl, interim chairman of the People's Heritage (PHP), which is one of the political parties constituting the ADF, said "we do not expect the government to refuse to talk to the people forever."

"We expect them to agree to seek dialogue and if they refuse then it means they are not prepared to respect the views of Ghanaians," he stated.

Alhaji Farl stressed that what happens next will be a decision for Ghanaians.

Mr. J.B. da Rocha, interim chairman of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), another political party associated with the ADF, said Ghanaians have in recent times demonstrated their faith in party politics contrary to impressions that majority frown on multiparty system of politics.

Mr. Gbedema in summing up said political leaders and members of government must always accept the fact that when they are no more in power, the country will continue to exist.

The Interim National Electoral Commission [INEC] in a statement on Thursday [28 July] categorically stated that it will not reopen the voters' register considering the time and resources at its disposal.

The statement signed by Dr. Afari-Gyan, deputy executive chairman (Operations) of INEC, said the commission was advised by experts that, given the resources, a new register would take nine months to complete at a cost of nearly 3 billion cedis.

It said the national timetable, which was set before the commission came into being, requires that the presidential and parliamentary elections be held respectively in November and December this year.

Niger

Cheiffou on Environment, Transitional Government

AB0308172792 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network
in French 1900 GMT 2 Aug 92

[Address to the nation by Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou on the country's 32d independence anniversary on 2 August; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] My dear fellow countrymen and women: The celebration of our country's 32d independence anniversary coincides with that of the opening of the sovereign national conference. The sovereign national conference opened one year ago today, on 29 July 1991. At the end of this conference, our country's new ruling bodies were set up and the men in charge of handling them elected. This conference set a 15-month transition period during which the political, legal, and economic instruments capable of transforming Niger into a real democratic nation and fostering economic growth—the necessary conditions for the establishment of any durable democracy—must be set up.

Today, with less than six months before the end of the transition period, I would like to take the opportunity offered by the celebration of our country's 32d independence anniversary to brief you on some of the government's major concerns and the way we intend to implement our action program for the coming weeks and months. Obviously, as you know, the first of these concerns is the ongoing rainy season whose beginnings have been very disheartening, but which have now generated some hopes, at least considering the regularity of the rain over the past few weeks. We must, however, hope that the few clusters of locusts and crop destroying birds, located in two areas, do not jeopardize the good harvests we expect.

Whatever the case, you should know that the government has already taken the necessary measures to fight the major crop pests and also has stepped up the distribution of emergency relief assistance wherever necessary. This was made possible with the assistance of the international community, which once again heeded our call. I therefore take this opportunity to once again express the sincere gratitude of our people to these countries and organizations.

Fellow countrymen and women, the celebration of our country's 32d independence anniversary coincides with the 15th annual tree festival, which we have decided to launch this year under the theme: Women, Youth, and the Protection of Nature. This theme will be developed by the concerned ministry on the occasion of the conventional tree festival.

For our part, on this solemn day, we can only reaffirm the strong desire and determination of the transition government to continue to initiate projects necessary for the preservation, if not the improvement of our environment. Despite a particularly difficult environment, as you know, we have pursued the efforts aimed at providing our country with the basic water supply infrastructure: wells, bore holes, and other water supply projects in many villages, and the expansion of the potable water supply network in major urban centers. The mobilization of surface water for increased farm agricultural production has been effective here and there due to the introduction of irrigation and the realization of many water conservation and soil protection and rehabilitation projects.

Concerning our environment, many projects for the protection and rehabilitation of our forests and soil—giving priority to the participation of the rural dwellers—have been initiated throughout the national territory. In this regard, I would like to call on everyone to help safeguard our environment, which is seriously threatened, especially by activities like unauthorized tree felling, bush fires, poaching, and so on. The battle for longstanding development, to which we aspire and toward which all our strategies must be aimed, especially in light of the Rio international conference on the environment and development, must be a concern for all the people of Niger—both men and women. A national plan against desert encroachment is being designed in accordance with the recommendations of the sovereign national conference.

Concerning our fauna, although a period of reduced poaching was experienced in the past, except in the Ferouane region, it continues to share its habitat with farmers and livestock breeders. They all must understand that our survival on this earth also depends on our capacity to conserve the (diversity) of animal and plant life around us. Therefore they must agree to cooperate with the administration to safeguard the necessary balance between agriculture, animal husbandry, the fauna, and forests.

Fellow countrymen and women: I must now draw your attention to the main point of our present worries; namely, how to complete the democratic process. As we had the opportunity to emphasize on many occasions, our desire to lead this process to a successful end is obvious. This is why the transition government has already started preparing for the general elections, noting how much they will cost, how they will be financed, and the detailed provisional timetables. I have to point out that the maintenance of these timetables will also depend on the desire of our people to help this process reach a successful conclusion.

Some demonstrations have been held here and there, and other acts of physical violence are not conducive to an atmosphere of peace and calm, necessary for elections. I therefore appeal to all people of Niger. I also call on all my fellow countrymen and women—political party and association members, students, religious officials, farmers, and cattle raisers—to show greater tolerance toward one another; ban forever all violence in their political, trade union, or professional activities; and become more respectful of the state's laws and regulations. At any rate, strict instructions have been given to law enforcement officials to punish severely all actions violating the law.

In the same vein, I hope that the transition bodies will be able to overcome the present difficulties and work together and in strict respect for the respective recommendations as defined by the sovereign national conference. I also hope that workers as well as students—given the superior interest of our country in this generalized crisis period, which is affecting the entire continent—will be able to set aside some of their demands so that we can find the needed calm to achieve our common objectives.

Similarly, I call on our compatriots who are rebelling in the north to show greater understanding to help the current negotiations being held with their representatives to reach a happy conclusion.

Dear compatriots, concerning the economic and financial situation, I have to inform you that an interim report on the tasks carried out and the implementation of the economic and financial recovery programs indicated some bottlenecks and made the government assess whether some sovereign national conference recommendations were realistic or not. This led us to propose corrective or additional measures, which were already discussed at a meeting with the active forces of the nation. At that time, they were asked to give their views at the next consultation with the transition bodies.

Taking into account our country's very difficult financial situation, the government has decided on the immediate implementation of a number of vigorous measures aimed at collecting state taxes, illegally acquired wealth, and the credits of Niger's Development Bank. In this vein, I again appeal to all citizens to demonstrate better citizenship by paying their taxes.

Fellow countrymen and women, I am convinced of your firm determination to make the democratic process end successfully. On this symbolic day, called the tree festival, I strongly hope that in the same way you will plant trees and take care of them so that they grow, you will act in such a way that the seedlings of democracy, planted on 29 July 1991, grow under the best conditions possible. This means that they will grow up in a Niger, where all the ethnic groups as well as all the social and professional

categories live in perfect harmony and with strict respect for the Republic's laws and regulations. I think that these are the minimal conditions to fulfill so that we can live in a democratic Niger which is definitively directed toward resolving its economic problems in an improved environment.

I thank you. Long live the Republic! Long live Niger!

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DATE FILMED

6 Aug 1992

